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ABSTRACT

This research report offers a theoretical framework for interpreting and improving the incentives available to elementary school teachers by drawing together diverse threads of research on work motivation, reward patterns, and incentive systems across a broad range of work settings. The report draws upon data collected during a year-long study of 15 elementary school teachers, their 5 principals, and 10 central office administrators in one moderately large, urban, unified school district in southern California. This report includes the executive summary of the study as well as eight additional chapters. Chapter 1 offers an overview of teaching incentives, and chapter 2 reviews prior research on elementary school teachers' work motivation, and reward and incentive systems. In the third chapter, the 15 teachers' work orientations and incentive systems are outlined on organizational, group, and individual levels. Chapter 4, "Teaching Lessons: The Cultural Enterprize of the Classroom," describes lesson structure archetypes, variations, and elements. The fifth chapter discusses classroom management (rules and their enforcement) from the cultural perspective. Chapter 6 puts the five school principals' administrative work in cultural perspective. Chapter 7 talks about different cultural incentives and effective teaching. Chapter 8 discusses policy implications involved in teacher incentives and school achievement and administration. Appended to the report are methodological notes and references. (JMK)

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FINAL REPORT

WORK ORIENTATION AND JOB PERFORMANCE: THE CULTURAL BASIS OF TEACHING REWARDS AND INCENTIVES

Douglas E. Mitchell, Flora Ida Ortiz and Tedi K. Mitchell
University of California, Riverside

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

WORK ORIENTATION AND JOB PERFORMANCE: THE CULTURAL BASIS OF TEACHING REWARDS AND INCENTIVES

Douglas E. Mitchell, Flora Ida Ortiz and Tedi K. Mitchell
University of California, Riverside
September, 1983

Teaching quality matters! Appropriate motivation plays a vital role in determining the quality of teacher work efforts! And the incentive system of the school largely determines how strongly teachers will be motivated to perform their work responsibilities! These simple, intuitively obvious propositions have been largely ignored in most recent efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the public schools.

Over the past quarter of a century major changes have been introduced into school program requirements and governance procedures. Substantial new initiatives have also been undertaken in student assessment, educational finance, curriculum materials development, and in the training and certification of educators. Until quite recently, however, little attention has been given to the ways in which schools stimulate and encourage high performance or contribute to deteriorating morale and emotional "burnout" among classroom teachers.

The research on which this report is based offers a starting point for overcoming this neglect. Though exploratory in nature, and aimed at theory development rather than rigorous hypothesis testing, this research draws together the diverse threads of the best available scholarship on work motivation, reward patterns and incentive systems across a broad range of work settings. It offers a comprehensive theoretical framework for interpreting and improving the incentives available to elementary school teachers.

The research summarized herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Education (NIE-G-80-0154). Points of view or opinions stated, however, do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

THE STUDY

This report draws upon data collected during a year-long study of 15 elementary school teachers, their 5 principals, and 10 central office administrators in one moderately large, urban, unified school district in southern California. The district has 51 school sites -- five of the elementary schools in the district were selected for this study. The five schools were selected to provide a broad representation of school types (one suburban, one multi-ethnic inner city, one predominantly Hispanic low income, and two predominantly black sites), principal characteristics, school size, and program complexity.

Each principal was asked to identify one "relatively strong" and one "relatively weak" teacher for participation in the study. Each was also asked to assist in identifying a third teacher with characteristics that would help to balance the teacher sample with regard to gender, experience, ethnicity and grade level. On observation, it became evident that some teachers are more successful than others in getting students to comply with their directives and become fully engaged in intended learning activities. There is, of course, substantial overlap between the principals' judgments of teacher strength and and our field staff's judgments regarding their effectiveness. This correlation is not perfect, however, so the terms "strength" and "effectiveness" are are consistently used throughout this report to distinguish between the researchers' and the principals' evaluations of teacher performance. The resulting 15 teachers included: 12 females and 3 males, 10 majority and 5 ethnic or racial minority members, 11 tenured and 4 untenured, all grade levels from kindergarten through sixth grade, two special education teachers, two teaching vice-principals, and one resource teacher.

In addition to the teachers and principals, the study sample included: the superintendent, an associate and three assistant superintendents, and five coordinators and directors who work directly with the teachers and principals in the sample.

Interviews and observations of all participants were "open-ended" in character. Observations of teachers took place over a wide variety of work activities and experiences. These observations and related interviews focused on: 1) how they feel about their work and how they orient themselves to task requirements and opportunities, 2) how classroom social life is structured and controlled, 3) how lessons are conceived and structured, and 4) the relationships among teachers, principals and other administrators.

The five principals were observed working in their offices, "making the rounds" of school buildings and playgrounds, and in meetings with students, teaching staff, parents, and other principals. They were also observed participating in committee and advisory group meetings, and at various staff in-service training sessions.

Central office staff were observed as they met with others in the district office, with principals and with teachers. They were observed as they conducted in-service programs for classroom aides, teachers and principals; and as they met with advisory groups, evaluated teachers, mediated school site personnel problems, and prepared reports.

Interview and observation data were transcribed and subjected to content analysis, along with documents such as lesson plans, seating charts, principal memoranda, curriculum guidelines, etc. The primary categories for analyzing the data included: 1) the unique characteristics of reward and incentive systems available to classroom teachers, 2) the structure of the lessons taught by teachers, 3) their strategies of classroom management and social control, and 4) the fundamental assumptions about the nature and structure of teaching work implicit within the work orientations of teachers, principals, and administrative staff members.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to interpret the data collected it was necessary to review the voluminous literature on three basic concepts: rewards, incentives, and work motivations. Analysis and synthesis of this literature begins with an examination of a fundamental distinction between the concepts of "reward" and "incentive." Both terms refer to the same work-related experiences, but represent essentially different perspectives on the meaning and significance of these experiences. When various work experiences make significant contributions to an individual's sense of self-fulfillment, pleasure, or satisfaction, they are appropriately called rewards. It does not necessarily follow, however, that such rewards have an impact on workers' job performances. In order to significantly direct work effort, rewards must be anticipated as being contingent upon participation in, or performance of, particular work activities. It is in this latter respect -- being anticipated as contingent upon work efforts -- that rewards become incentives. The reward-value of a rewarding experience is reflected in the magnitude of the pleasure or satisfaction which it produces. The incentive-value of this same experience is reflected in the character and extent of its influence on worker's level or quality of effort.

Rewards can be helpfully divided into "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" rewards. Intrinsic or psychic rewards are secured by workers who derive a sense of joy or personal efficacy from doing their jobs. Extrinsic rewards are those which, like salaries and fringe benefits, provide pleasures that are unrelated to doing the work itself. Incentives, by contrast, are best categorized according to whether they are given directly to individual workers, or mediated through informal groups of workers or formal organizational structures. In order to be given to individual workers, incentives must be infinitely divisible and capable of being received as private possessions. Several very important categories of work incentives are not amenable to this treatment. The sense of group solidarity which arises when workers enjoy the company of co-workers, or take pride in sharing success with them, cannot be divided. Unless all members of a solidary group share in the incentives none will receive them. This is also true when extrinsic rewards, such as salary bonuses or student grades, are made contingent upon successful execution of cooperative group tasks.

Some incentives are available only to formal organizational units. The most important of these incentives are what Clark and Wilson (1961) call "purposive" incentives. Collective purposes are an essential element in the formation of formal organizations, and all members of the organization are potential beneficiaries when the organization succeeds in reaching its goals. These purposive incentives may be either intrinsic or extrinsic in character. Winning an election or a football game will give rise to intrinsically satisfying experiences for all those who are members of the winning group. By the same token, all members of an organization may benefit from a tax incentive which has been adopted to encourage the organization to pursue certain goals deemed to be in the public interest.

Work motivation is the general term for experiences which serve to shape and energize individual work efforts. Taking the reward perspective on these experiences leads to an examination of the extent to which they produce pleasure, self-fulfillment or satisfaction. Incentive theories look at how they are distributed to individuals, informal groups and formal organizational units in order to guide workers in the performance of assigned tasks. Motivation theories examine how these various experiences energize and shape work behavior. The most basic distinction among work motivations is between motivations which encourage enthusiastic engagement in a task and those which support careful or precise task performance.

Careful review of the scholarly literature on this topic reveals that six essentially different psychological frameworks are used by various scholars in attempting to explain how workers are motivated. These six psychological frameworks include a static or ahistorical and a dynamic or historical form of: 1) behaviorism, 2) need or developmental theory, and 3) cognitive psychology. Behavioristic psychologies are the simplest and, therefore, the easiest to use for generating research designs. A review of findings from studies based on these theories, however, reveals that they are unable to account for significant variations in work behavior.

Need or developmental psychologies are more complex, and consequently harder to use in designing research. The hierarchical need theory developed by Abraham Maslow (1954) has been very prominent in work motivation research. Less prominent have been developmental need theories such as that proposed by Argyris (1957). The results of these research efforts have been more powerful than those based on behaviorism, but they have fallen woefully short of providing an adequate account of most work behavior.

Recent developments in cognitive psychological theory offer considerable promise for improving our understanding of work motivation and incentives. The static "expectancy" cognitive theory formulated by Vroom (1964) has been found only slightly better than the simpler psychologies in explaining work motivations in complex organizations like schools, however. The most complex of all psychological frameworks are the dynamic "social information processing" theories such as that proposed by Pfeffer & Salancik (1977). These theories have not yet been subjected to systematic empirical testing, and their basic concepts have not been fully developed, but they appear quite promising as frameworks for interpreting work behavior in complex organizations.

For the research reported here, a cultural theory of incentives is developed. This cultural theory follows the lead of social information processing theory in arguing that work behavior is controlled by a system of beliefs and meanings which are utilized by workers to orient themselves to their work responsibilities. Starting with Winter's (1966) conception of the common culture as a set of shared purposes and common typifications of experience, the data collected in this research project is analyzed in terms of the beliefs which teachers and administrators display regarding the overall purposes of schooling and their views regarding the social relationships and classroom processes used to achieve those purposes.

THE FINDINGS

1. On Teacher Orientations and Incentives.

Work orientations and motives among the 15 teachers studied were found to be substantially influenced by their responses to two basic incentive systems. First, teachers differ in their conceptions of the overall purpose or mission of schooling. Six of the sample teachers clearly believe that the primary cultural mission of schooling is the "production of achievement" among children. The other nine display an equally clear preference for nurturance or "child development" as the primary organizational mission of the schools. This difference has a number of important consequences for the ways in which teachers approach their work. The six achievement oriented teachers share in common three beliefs about their work responsibilities. They believe that: 1) teachers, not students, are responsible for initiating the learning process, 2) schooling is serious work, work which even at its best is not always fun for either the students or their teachers, and 3) teaching work is primarily instructional or directive, rather than evocative or educative in character. These teachers believe, therefore, that they should aggressively present materials and learning experiences to the children -- materials based on the eventual goal of improving measured student achievement, and not necessarily related to the students' current interests or abilities.

The nine child development oriented teachers hold the obverse beliefs regarding their work. They believe that: 1) students have the capacity to, and thus bear an ultimate responsibility for, initiating their own learning processes, 2) learning works best if children's interests, curiosities, or sense of play is utilized to engage them in classroom activities, and 3) teaching is most effective if learning is evoked or "educed" from children rather than pressed upon them. These teachers believe, therefore, that teaching starts with the child rather than the curriculum and that good teaching means getting children involved in, and excited about, their own learning processes.

The differences between these two groups of teachers are appropriately described as differences in their organization-level or purposive incentives. Individual teachers adopt one or the other of these clusters of beliefs and subsequently organize their work behavior on the basis of their sense of the societal function of the school. Teachers who accept the notion that educational outcomes are appropriately reflected in measurable achievement scores work in ways that differ substantially from those who see education leading to unmeasurable psychological growth, expansive personal capacities, or development of unique individual abilities.

The second basic incentive system which separates the 15 sample teachers into two groups is their orientation toward social relationships within the school. Seven of the teachers studied see students as their primary group; the other eight orient more toward the social system created by other adults. The student-centered group solidary incentives of the first group leads them to see teaching primarily in terms of "teaching lessons." The teachers who respond to adult-centered solidary incentives view classroom work as more a matter of "keeping school." This latter group sees teaching as primarily a matter of developing adequate programs, properly placing children within those programs, and encouraging or insisting upon student compliance with the demands of these programs. These "school keepers" believe that educational objectives, whether of the measurable achievement or broad nurturance types, are best pursued by creating a classroom environment which surrounds the students with opportunities and expectations that both respond to their current abilities and move them along toward ultimate learning goals. These teachers believe that education consists of a set of "experiences" which the children encounter, learn to cope with, and eventually master. They find that their own identity is linked primarily to the responses which they obtain from other adults who evaluate or recognize their work efforts rather than from the children.

The seven "lesson teaching" teachers focus their classroom energies on the structure and conduct of specific lessons rather than the organization and implementation of programs. That is, these teachers think in terms of specific learning "activities" rather than overall school "experiences" for the children. They take a special interest in stimulating and directing children's engagement in these lesson activities, and find their sense of group solidarity with children rather than other adults.

The teachers in this study fall into four distinct sub-groups when their purposive and solidary incentive orientations are viewed simultaneously. When so clustered, we find that each teacher sub-group shares a common set of cultural interpretations regarding six basic elements in their work. These six shared elements are: 1) a common view about what teaching activities contribute most to student learning, 2) a common set of criteria for determining whether their teaching is being successful, 3) a common viewpoint regarding what students need to do in order to be successful, and how student success is to be recognized, 4) a common sense of what the most difficult aspect of teaching is — difficult in the sense that only the best teachers handle this aspect well, 5) a common view of what the most distasteful part of teaching is — distasteful because it represents a perpetually unsolvable problem which keeps interfering with the work, and 6) a common view regarding the central mystery of teaching — the marvelous thing which makes learning possible, a thing which can be celebrated but cannot be entirely predicted or controlled.

Three of the teachers studied were labeled "master teachers". They combine a deep commitment to achievement production with a belief in the program oriented, school keeping, strategy for pursuing this basic purpose. These teachers often speak of the importance of "bringing kids up to grade level." They are strong contributors to the school system as well as effective classroom performers. For them, "academic discipline" is the key to improved student learning. They believe that students succeed by "getting with the program," by "buckling down," or by "plugging away." For them the best teachers are those who can "get to" the difficult kids. They take pride in successfully handling difficult interpersonal problems. The most distasteful experiences for these adult-oriented teachers arise when they fail to get adequate "support" from principals or other administrators.

A second group of three teachers we called the "instructors" because they combine a commitment to achievement production with an emphasis on teaching lessons. For these teachers the most fundamental work responsibility is the development and execution of effective lessons. They tend to be "loners" or "solo" teachers, difficult for principals to know how to direct or manage. They view teaching as a technically sophisticated craft, and they believe that students learn through active engagement in intellectually stimulating activities. Students, they believe, will be successful if they are given learning activities which accurately match their needs. They work at getting the kids "turned on" to learning by getting them engaged in activities which are both emotionally and intellectually "geared" to their needs. These teachers believe that the hardest part of teaching, mastered only by the best instructors, is learning how to organize and pace instructional activities properly. They find discipline to be the most distasteful and persistent problem they face.

Four of the teachers studied fell into the group called "coaches". This group combines a commitment to the importance of child nurture and development with a belief that teaching lessons is the best strategy for pursuing this goal. This group responds to children as the primary source of solidary incentives, and sees themselves as responsible for evoking excitement and learning responses from their students. They believe that their most important contribution is to be "with the children" as they explore new worlds. They move back and forth between imposing rigorous demands for student engagement and offering them warmth, encouragement, and a guiding hand. For them, students are successful when they have learned to "love", to get along socially and intellectually with others, and to be "respectful" of others. Students are seen as most likely to be successful if they are made to feel comfortable rather than pressured; excited rather than bored. The most distasteful problem confronting these teachers are the distractions of useless meetings and paper work demands. For them the best teachers are those who can provide all of the emotional energy required to keep in touch with the students.

The remaining five teachers in the sample we called the "helpers." This group embraces child nurturance goals and combines this commitment with a belief in the importance of using school keeping strategies for teaching. This group, made up entirely of the weaker teachers in the sample, defines their work role as one of "helping" students to deal with the demands of schooling — demands which these teachers seem to equate with the demands which these children will face in adult life. Student success is, for them, measured by how well children "function as students" in the school setting. The helpers generally suspect that a substantial number of children are either unwilling or unable to cope with school programs. They find that the most distasteful and persistent problem in teaching is the number of children who are resistive or non-cooperative. They think that the best teachers are those who are able to get the classroom organized and running smoothly. They are unique among the teacher sub-groups in seeing very little mystery or wonder in the learning process. For them, learning is a matter of routine, almost dull, plodding through the curriculum and trying to reach the kids with what they need to pass tests and move along to the next assignment or grade level.

2. On Lesson Structures.

Within the framework created by their orientations to the purposes of schooling and their solidary incentives related to "teaching lessons" to children or "keeping school" with other adults, two core elements are found in teachers' work activities: lesson structures and rule formation. These elements are technological in the sense that they give operational precision to classroom activities, but they are cultural in the sense that the form which they take depends upon the values and beliefs of both students and teachers.

Our research supports earlier work by Mehan (1979) in that, among the teachers studied, all successful lessons (successful in the sense of engaging students in the ways teachers intended for them to be engaged) had a common structural form which consisted of five basic elements. These elements are: 1) a starting demarcation, 2) an opening, 3) a lesson proper, 4) a closing, and 5) an ending demarcation. Starting demarcations are short. They serve as transitional activities separating lessons from other classroom activities. They produce no instruction. Hence their effectiveness is enhanced if they are ritualized and non-verbal in nature, because ritualized demarcations take much less time than verbally explicit ones. Starting demarcations serve two functions: the synchronization of students' behavior so they are ready to participate in the lesson, and the focusing of their attention on the lesson to follow. When starting demarcations are unsuccessful lessons are disrupted, postponed or abandoned.

Lesson openings serve to orient students to the content and form of the lesson proper which is to follow. Three functions are served by the lesson opening: 1) students are oriented to the subject matter to be covered and the procedures to be used in presenting the lesson, 2) they are shown in both form and substance how they are to respond when the teacher elicits their participation in the lesson proper, and 3) they are informed of the basis or criteria which will be used to evaluate their responses once the lesson is under way. Lesson openings may be quite brief — setting the stage for the lesson proper quickly and then elaborated after the lesson begins. Frequently, however, lesson openings are more extended — providing a fairly detailed introduction to the materials to be covered in the lesson.

The lesson proper consists of one or more "cycles" of interaction between teachers and students. A complete interaction cycle consists of a teacher elicitation, a student response, and a teacher evaluation of that response. In successful lessons, these interaction cycles are reciprocal and directional. That is, there is a direct and understandable connection between the teacher's elicitation actions, the students' responses, and the teacher's evaluations. There is also a logical linkage between the flow of these interaction cycles and the content of the lesson. The teachers' elicitations begin by probing student understanding and reactions to preliminary lesson elements and move toward more complex or subtle elements.

The teachers in this study utilized six essentially different types of elicitation strategies. The most common forms were "choice" and "product" elicitations in which teachers asked students to respond directly to the content of a lesson. Other important forms of elicitation included: a) "process" elicitations in which students are asked to indicate whether they are following the flow of the lesson, b) "meta-process" elicitation in which they are asked to reveal the basis or rationale for their responses, c) "curiosity" elicitations aimed at getting them involved in lesson activities, and d) "confirmation" elicitations in which students are asked to evaluate and confirm each other's work. Proper use of these all six of these elicitation forms is an important part of a teacher's overall effectiveness.

The cycles of teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation serve to control student participation in the lesson and constitute what Mehan (1979) called the "turn allocation" machinery of the classroom. Students may respond as groups or individually; they may respond to invitations to "bid" for participation, or may be explicitly invited to reply. The important point is that students must master both the form and content of proper responses within the lesson cycles. Right answers offered in the wrong form or at the wrong time must be treated by teachers as just as "wrong" for the lesson as ones which reflect a student's inability to grasp the intellectual content of the lesson. In addition to responding to specific teacher elicitations, students make original contributions to the flow of the lesson by: "getting the floor", "holding the floor", and "introducing news."

Once the interaction cycle of the lesson proper begins its tempo, content and direction are controlled by three mechanisms: 1) the nature of the teacher's evaluation of students responses, 2) teacher extensions or elaborations of the lesson opening used to reinforce or further develop its content, and 3) disruptions by students, outsiders, or even the teacher which break the interaction cycle and distract the participants. If a teacher's evaluation of a student response is positive that generally terminates one cycle and sets the stage for the next. Negative or non-evaluation responses by the teacher call for continued interactions. Teacher evaluations may be procedural (focused on the form of a student's response) or substantive (focused on its content). They are also either moralistic (aimed at reinforcing student rights or obligations) or rational (aimed at reinforcing student understanding and comprehension).

When extending or elaborating the lesson opening, teachers introduce new subject matter or new intellectual processes into the lesson. Under normal circumstances these elaborations are used to move the lesson toward its originally intended goals. Sometimes, however, teachers must elaborate their lesson openings because students have not been able to understand either the content or the form of expected responses based on the original opening.

Disruption was extensively present in the lessons observed during this research project. The extent to which ordinary classrooms are disrupted by school administrative needs, unmanageable student needs, or irrelevant teacher actions was startling to the project field staff. Not surprisingly, weaker teachers were much more likely to be the victims of disruption than their more effective co-workers.

In order to terminate the cycle of interactions which constitute the lesson proper, teachers must perform a "lesson closing." The lesson closing, usually takes the form of a brief teacher soliloquy. It may be either directive or informative. Directive closings involve such things as assigning homework, indicating the learning goals which will be pursued next, or instructing children to finish their work. Informative closings summarize the content or procedures used during the lesson proper. Closings, especially the informative type, serve two basic functions. They underscore the role of the lesson in moving children toward the goals of schooling and they bring to consciousness the meanings and behavior norms which teachers believe are essential in realizing these goals.

Ending demarcations separate classroom lessons from other activities and ritually release the students from their obligation to follow the behavior rules implicit in the lesson proper. These ending demarcations are vital to effective classroom lessons because they separate periods of intense student concentration and compliance with teacher directions from more relaxed periods of undirected social interaction. Frequently ending demarcation rituals involve physical movement of children or teachers from one place to another. Bells and buzzers also play an important role in these demarcation rituals.

Four distinctive lesson forms were identified in our data: 1) teacher-led verbal lessons (the most commonly recognized form of elementary school teaching), 2) activity lessons, 3) drill and practice lessons, and 4) test lessons. Each of these four types of lessons were found to have the same essential structure, however.

3. On the Relationship Between Teacher Orientations and Lesson Structures.

The linkage between work orientation and lesson structure is seen in each of the four different sub-groups of teachers. The most prominent structural features of the lessons utilized by the "master teachers" are their complexity and their emphasis on procedural evaluation. These teachers concentrate on getting children engaged in organized activities and have a knack for quickly spotting children who have become disengaged and re-orienting them to the norms of participation in the lesson. The "instructors" tend to have elaborate lesson openings but keep the interactive cycles of the lesson proper less complex and focus their evaluation responses on the substantive content rather than the procedural propriety of student responses. These teachers tend to rely more on group level teaching activities.

The group we called the "coaches" tend to elicit a broader array of student responses in their lessons and to offer moral as well as substantive responses. They believe that lessons should contribute to character and self-discipline as well as knowledge and therefore are as likely to use emotional as cognitive language to describe the content of a lesson they are preparing to teach. They tend to call the process a "challenge" and want students to feel excitement and opportunity, not just to know facts.

The group of weaker teachers whom we called "helpers" tend to have less well structured lessons than the other three groups. They more easily fail to engage students in the demarcation rituals or fail to complete a lesson opening or closing. They also are more likely to let student responses pass without appropriate evaluation. We also found that these teachers tend to use individual nominations rather than bidding or group responses in allocating student participation turns -- thus creating a highly personalistic style of group interaction. These teachers, not surprisingly, find that their lessons are easily disrupted and that it is hard for students to "get down to business".

4. On Classroom Management.

Rule formation is the second basic ingredient utilized by teachers in the construction of a classroom culture. In addition to structuring lessons so that students can meaningfully interact with each other and move toward learning goals, teachers must establish a system of normative and enforceable rules aimed at establishing orderly and just social relationships in the school. In order to be effective, these rules must at least: 1) be sufficiently sensible or "natural" that they do not have to be explicitly remembered, 2) bear an understandable relationship to the goals and tasks of the classroom, 3) avoid contradictory or arbitrary demands on students, and 4) be concretely expressed within the developing culture of each classroom social group. Even though rules in any given classroom may be virtually identical from one year to the next, they must be re-established for each new class. Teachers must re-articulate, illustrate, and interpret the ramifications of rules each time they seek to turn a group of diverse individual students into an integrated classroom social group.

Data from our teachers make it quite obvious that teachers are not equally successful in creating and maintaining classroom rules. Life in our sample classrooms ranged across a continuum from virtual chaos in one room, through rooms with highly visible rules and equally overt systems of enforcement, to well ordered ones in which cultural norms were largely implicit and enforcement systems virtually invisible to casual observers. Twelve of the fifteen teachers (those with full sized classes of normal children) can be located along this continuum.

The least effective of these twelve teachers demonstrated repeatedly just how fragile elementary school classroom cultures can be. She failed almost totally in her efforts to establish and enforce rules or to insure that students behaved in an orderly way. (Our field observer was genuinely relieved when this teacher decided, with her principal's encouragement, to retire from teaching at the end of our study year).

Two somewhat more effective teachers managed to generate substantial periods of social order, but they did not appear to fully comprehend how this order was established. As a result, order in their classrooms constantly threatened to disappear and could only be sustained by relatively harsh and frequently punitive measures.

Still more effective are two teachers who seem to understand how rules should function and why they are needed. These two teachers, however, were generally unable to get their students to "own" the classroom rules. As a consequence, students in these two rooms frequently felt that rules were arbitrary, capricious or without fundamental purpose.

Five of the sample teachers — the largest single group — were able to establish and enforce rules which were, on the whole, seen as legitimate and appropriate by their students. While these teachers found it necessary, with varying degrees of frequency, to use overt power strategies to maintain order, they were typically able to get students to voluntarily and spontaneously follow classroom rules and social norms.

Data collected in the room of an effective kindergarten teacher reveals just how young children are introduced to the school as a place where behavior is based on rules and social norms.

Finally, analysis of the data collected from an especially effective first grade teacher reveals that successful enculturation of classroom rules makes it possible for teachers to give up overt rule enforcement almost entirely. In this classroom, with its almost total lack of rule enforcement problems, the teacher is able to make "suggestions" and give "directions" rather than cite or enforce rules in order to control and direct children's behavior.

One of the underlying dimensions of rule formulation and enforcement in these classrooms is the difference between moral, value-based rules and legal, rationally-structured rules. Not only do moral rules cover a different domain of behavior from legal ones, they are ammenable to support and enforcement through the use of different processes and mechanisms. It is important for teachers to recognize the difference between these two types of rules and to refrain from trying to enforce one with sanctions which are only well suited to the other.

Another basic dilemma in teacher rule development and enforcement arises from the fact that classrooms are not totally isolated from the larger school context. School-wide rules intrude into the classroom because teachers are expected to both interpret and enforce them. School-wide social norms also exist and cause children to challenge rules which seem to them to be at odds with these general norms. Some teachers will intercede on behalf of their own students when they are accused of breaking a school rule, others will insist more strongly on adherence to these general rules than to ones developed within the classroom.

In a general way, explicit behavioral rules form a bridge between chaos and cultural order. Teachers with less well developed classroom cultures are required to spend more time and energy declaring and enforcing rules. As the classroom culture becomes more fully developed, rules come to be seen by the students as a natural outgrowth of shared meanings and the overall purposes of the classroom group. Thus, in these more developed cultures, teachers can rely on direction giving rather than entering into a power struggle or engaging in psychological manipulation of students.

5. On Principal Orientations and Effectiveness.

The development of a cultural framework for interpreting meanings and defining purposes is just as important for school principals as it is for teachers. Not only are such cultural frameworks important to principals in the development of their own work orientations, they serve as powerful mechanisms for directing the work others.

Data collected from the five principals in this study indicate that principals do not rely on either clear conceptions of specific role responsibilities or explicit attention to teacher rewards and incentives in developing an overall approach to their work. In order to account for the characteristic work style of each principal it is necessary to examine how each responds to two fundamental dimensions of the elementary school culture. The first concerns their ways of typifying teaching work activities and the second involves their ways of conceptualizing the overall mission of the school. Principals must make basic choices along each of these dimensions. And their choices are reflected in the development of particular approaches to their work as principals. Principal influence over teacher rewards and incentives is largely an unconscious by-product of their overall work orientation and style. They contribute to teacher incentives by pressing upon them a vivid sense of the mission of the school, and by supporting a particular definition of teaching work. This influence is generally unrecognized by the principals, and is almost never pursued in a systematic way.

When trying to interpret the nature of teaching work, our principals tended to concentrate on either: a) the level of effort which teachers display in their work, or b) the technical quality or care with which teachers perform specific work responsibilities. Principals who attend primarily to the teachers' level of effort tend to feel that teachers themselves will know best how and what to teach but that the job of the principal is to stimulate, motivate, encourage and support them. By contrast, principals who focus on the technical quality of teachers' task performances feel that their own role involves defining teaching tasks, prescribing techniques to be used, and monitoring the effectiveness with which those techniques are applied.

As they attend to the mission or enterprise of schooling, principals tend to concentrate on either: a) defining and organizing programs which they believe will lead to the realization of their goals, or b) stimulating effective execution of programs that have been adopted. Those who view their role in terms of program definition and organization tend to believe that the success of the school enterprise depends upon proper planning and careful integration of various program elements. Those who emphasize program execution and oversight indicate that they believe educational outcomes depend upon the precision, care and diligence with which programs are carried out.

Four of the five principals studied were easily classified as embracing a unique combination of teaching work and school mission orientations. Each of these principals typifies the central features one of four major conceptions of the principalship: manager, administrator, leader, and supervisor. The first principal, whom we labeled the "manager", clearly believes that school effectiveness depends upon the technical competence with which teachers perform their work responsibilities and the organizational adequacy of school programs. The most striking feature of this principal's work style is the intense, rapid-fire, and frequently changing interactions which she has with teachers and other staff members. She also displays a keen interest in staff in-service activities (which she calls "a real biggie with me") and spends long hours in program planning activities both at her own school and at the district's central office where she holds a half-time appointment as a curriculum coordinator. Though her language during interviews is filled with the tough, sophisticated and slightly profane language which one would expect of a person with these beliefs, she displays certain contradictions in her dealing with teachers. She intuitively recognizes that she must "establish a presence" not just "enforce performance standards" with her teachers. As a result she engages frequently in what she calls "stroking" of staff members. Her vigorous managerial language system shows through, however, and her staff remains alienated from what they see as her career and her program interests.

A second principal, whom we labeled the "administrator", sees productive teaching work as dependent upon encouraging typically competent teachers to be more diligent and dedicated. This principal, like the manager, sees school effectiveness as depending on proper program planning and organization. As we watched this principal and talked with him about the meaning of his work, we noted that his activities are highly time-structured. He remembers meeting schedules better (and misses more meetings) than any of the other principals we observed. His conception of his own role is much like that of a hospital administrator or university dean — he expects teachers to take responsibility for the technical quality of the work performed and believes his own contributions are most effective when he monitors the flow of support services and facilitates the planning of program components. One prominent feature of his work is the extent to which he has to deal with student discipline problems. These are important to him because they represent one way in which he can make a direct contribution to the smooth operation of the school. This principal is fairly passive in relation to teachers. He is viewed by central office administrators as not very responsive to district programs and goals.

The third principal in our group, whom we called the "leader", combines the manager's belief that school effectiveness depends upon individual excellence rather than collective organization, while embracing the administrator's view that the principal should motivate and stimulate teachers rather than trying to set explicit standards and monitor their performance. "Atmosphere" is the key term in this principal's approach to his work. He concentrates on keeping in touch with the feelings of staff and students and believes that his success as a principal is reflected in the degree of enthusiasm and dedication which his staff displays. He maintains an energetic, enthusiastic, problem-denying facade because he believes that he is personally responsible for being a source of good feelings which will contagiously encourage all members of the school to do their best.

The fourth principal, whom we called the "supervisor", combines an organizational view of the school program with a level of effort concern with teacher performance. This principal concentrates on directly controlling teacher work efforts by both a) giving immediate guidance regarding the tasks to be performed and b) insisting that the planning and organization of these tasks is the prerogative and responsibility of school administrators. She displayed the least trust of any of our principals in the motives and competence of her teaching staff. The general impression garnered from spending a few hours in her office is that of a job-shop in which projects are constantly being scheduled, worked on, and completed. This principal sees herself as the shop foreman, and concerns herself on a daily basis with whether work is properly scheduled and whether workers are diligently attending to their task responsibilities.

The fifth principal in our study was not as easily classified as the other four. She displayed a capacity to move comfortably and fairly quickly from one role definition to another. Rather than displaying clear choices regarding either the origins of school effectiveness or the nature of teacher work responsibilities, she was committed to the idea that communication of a central vision of the school is the key to successful management of its operations. Her special role and flexible style may have been made possible by the fact that hers was the most suburbanized of our schools with an upper middle-class clientele and a mature teaching staff.

In sum, there is a close link between each principal's beliefs regarding the nature of teaching and the purposes of schooling and their overall approach to the principalship. It is quite evident from watching our principals that they have enormous latitude in how they can approach their jobs. We note, however, that when principals settle for one particular approach to their job responsibilities they tend to develop blind spots and contradictions which prevent them from creating the most effective incentive systems for teachers.

EIGHT THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS REGARDING INCENTIVES

The theoretical significance of this study is best summarized in eight analytical propositions. These propositions, discussed in detail in the full report, are as follows:

> Proposition #1: Appropriate motivation plays a vital role in determining the quality of teacher work efforts
>
> Proposition #2: Rewards, broadly conceived, are the most effective work motivators.
>
> Proposition #3: An incentive is a reward which serves to modify work behavior by being linked (in the mind of the worker) to participation in, or performance of, particular tasks or activities.
>
> Proposition #4: Incentive systems — that is systems linking anticipated rewards to specific work behavior — exist at three conceptually distinct levels of analysis: 1) the individual, 2) the group, and 3) the organization.
>
> Proposition #5: Since orienting belief systems serve to establish the linkage between task performance and reward distribution for workers (i.e., to create incentive systems) it

is appropriate to say that incentives are created by cultural systems.

Proposition #6: Lesson structures and social behavior rules represent the technical core of all classroom cultures.

Proposition #7: Principals make their greatest contributions to teacher incentives indirectly by influencing the cultural systems within the school and classroom.

Proposition #8: School administrators substantially influence school and classroom cultures through the enactment of three basic roles: 1) interpretive roles aimed at defining and articulating cultural purposes and norms, 2) representational roles aimed at revealing and modeling the activities appropriate to the cultural framework, and 3) authenticating roles aimed at recognizing and confirming successful and appropriate participation by teachers, students, and community members.

These theoretical propositions not only depart in significant ways from the traditional literature on work incentives, they also offer school leaders and public policy makers a basis for improving teacher work performance without generating the high levels of teacher alienation associated with "burn-out."

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In combination with an extensive review of prior research on work motivations, rewards and incentives, the research summarized here suggests ten guidelines for policy makers who are interested in improving teacher incentive systems, school achievement and the effectiveness of school principals. In brief these guidelines are:

1. For Improving Teacher Incentive Systems.

Policy Guideline #1: Through re-definition of school cultures, the incentive-value of a reward can be altered substantially even when the reward itself cannot be controlled at all.

Policy Guideline #2: Policies that give primary attention to strengthening organization-level, purposive incentives have the greatest chance of improving teacher work performance.

Policy Guideline #3: Policies that facilitate the development of appropriate group-level, solidary incentives will also significantly improve techer work performance.

Policy Guideline #4: Among the individual-level incentives available to teachers, the predominant role is played by those which rely on instrinsic rewards.

Policy Guideline #5: While extrinsic rewards (like salaries and comfortable working conditions) play a significant role in motivating teachers -- especially in their recruitment and retention -- they cannot be expected to produce intense engagement or high performance.

2. For Enhancing School Achievement.

Policy Guideline #6: Cultural and technical elements of school organization need to be carefully distinguished — policies aimed at improving one may damage the other.

Policy Guideline #7: There are two core elements in every school culture — common purposes and shared typifications of the processes to be used in pursuing them — policies that support these two cultural elements will improve school and teacher performance.

Policy Guideline #8: Once the cultural core of the school is established, a technical core consisting of 1) appropriate lesson structures and 2) effective rule systems, must be embedded within that culture.

3. For Improving School Administration

Policy Guideline #9: Role flexibility (not ambiguity) is critical to an effective principalship. Principals must know how, and when, to act the part of a "manager", "leader", "administrator", or "supervisor" in working with teachers.

Policy Guideline #10: In order for policies to support cultural incentives in the school they must reinforce three culture management roles for school principals: 1) interpretive roles aimed at defining and articulating cultural purposes and norms, 2) representational roles aimed at revealing and modeling appropriate activities and behaviors, and 3) authenticating roles aimed at recognizing and confirming the participation and membership of children, teachers and citizens.

CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF TEACHING INCENTIVES

INTRODUCTION

Teachers are the focal point of classroom social organization and instructional service delivery in the schools. Too little is known, however, about the structural characteristics of their work or the motivating factors affecting their job performance. These concerns are the central themes of this report. Our analysis emphasizes the importance of incentive systems (as distinguished from regulations, direct oversight by superiors, or classroom and student characteristics) in mobilizing and directing teacher work efforts.

DATA SOURCE AND RESEARCH METHODS

This report draws upon data collected during a year-long study of teachers, principals, and central office administrators in a moderately large, urban, unified school district in southern California. The district has 51 school sites. There are substantial numbers of ethnic minority students (both Black and Hispanic) within the district and it is under a court-ordered desegregation program. The desegregation program involves the creation of several "magnet" programs in schools throughout the district with voluntary transfers used to help establish an ethnic balance across school sites.

In consultation with the district superintendent, who had been employed by the district for four years at the start of this study, it was agreed to concentrate our research on the elementary schools of the district. At a meeting of elementary principals held in September, 1980, the proposed research project was described and volunteers were sought for participation in the study. Seven principals volunteered. After preliminary interviews, four of the seven were selected as participants. Subsequently, an assistant superintendent was asked to help recruit a fifth principal with personal background and school site characteristics not adequately represented in the initial group of volunteers. The addition of this fifth principal completed the sample described below.

The five schools in the final sample differed across the following important organizational and demographic dimensions.

A. Attendance areas:

1 suburban, middle-class school,
1 multi-ethnic, inner city school,
1 predominantly Hispanic low income school,
2 predominantly Black schools, one drawing from
a visibly lower income area than the other.

B. principals:

1 experienced (14 years) white male principal,
1 experienced (5 years) white female principal,
1 experienced (4 years) Hispanic male principal,
1 second year Black female principal,
1 second year white female principal.

C. School enrollments:

Ranged from 239 to 510, staff size ranged from 10 to 22 teachers.

D. Program complexity:

A broad range of special programs and specialist staff roles were found in the schools. One school had no federally funded programs, others had various combinations of desegregation, bi-lingual, ESEA Title I, and/or California School Improvement Programs.

One central concern in the design and execution of this study was the analysis of how the overall character and effectiveness of teachers' task performance is influenced by the various rewards and incentives encountered during the course of their work. Since there are no widely accepted measures of effective teacher task performance, we relied upon school principals to assist in developing a sample with optimal variance on this crucial dimension. Each principal was asked to identify one "relatively strong" and one "relatively weak" teacher for participation in the study. Each was also asked to assist in identifying a third teacher with characteristics that would help to balance the sample with regard to the sex, experience, ethnicity, and/or grade level represented in the sample. Throughout this report we use the terms "weak" and "strong" to denote these principals' judgments. One teacher is a special case. Although not initially identified as a "weak teacher", this teacher (labeled Mrs. M in the text) is grouped with the weaker teachers because her principal felt it necessary to have her transferred to a new teaching assignment during the study year because of her perceived inability to handle her assigned special Learning Handicapped class.

When actually observing the teachers our research staff found, naturally, that some were much more successful than others in getting students to respond to lessons and comply with teacher directives. The teachers judged to be more successful are called "effective" in the body of this report (see especially Chapter V). As detailed in Chapters IV and V, there is a substantial (though not perfect) correlation between principals' judgments of strength or weakness and our observations of effectiveness.

The 15 teachers finally selected for study include:

- 12 female and 3 male teachers,
- 10 majority and 5 minority teachers,
- 11 tenured and 4 untenured teachers (i.e. less than 3 years experience),
- All grade levels from K to 6th,

- Two special education teachers,
- Two dual role, vice-principal/teachers,
- One resource teacher.

Two problems were encountered in the selection of a sample. One teacher, initially identified as a strong teacher by her cooperating principal, declined to participate (largely on the basis of her involvement in the teacher union which was at that time engaged in tense labor negotiations). This teacher tried unsuccessfully to persuade all teachers in her building to refuse to participate. She was replaced and the sample was completed without her participation. A second teacher originally identified as a weaker teacher by his principal initially agreed to participate and then withdrew after a preliminary interview. He was replaced by a stronger first grade teacher.

In addition to the teachers and the five principals, the following district personnel were interviewed and/or observed in the course of the study:

- the district superintendent,
- the associate superintendent and 3 assistant superintendents,
- five coordinators and directors who work directly with the teachers and principals in the sample.

Interviews and observations of all participants were "open-ended" in character. Where feasible, tape recorders were used to preserve the data in its original form. Observations and interviews with teachers focused on:

1. How the teachers feel about their work and how they orient themselves to its task requirements and opportunities.

2. How classroom social life is structured — how control is developed and maintained.

3. How teachers conceptualize, structure and teach the "lessons" for which they are responsible.

4. What relationships exist between teachers and principals, between teachers and other administrators, and between principals and other administrators.

All of the participants were formally interviewed at least twice. All of the teachers and principals and most of the other participants were observed for the equivalent of one or more full working days. Teachers were observed in their classrooms, on the playground, during coffee breaks, at lunch and conversing informally with other staff. They were observed participating in such events as parent-teacher conferences, staff meetings, small group in-services, cluster in-services, an all-district in-service and district committee meetings. Some participants were observed during after school social gatherings and parties. One teacher was observed as she conducted an in-service meeting for parents interested in providing classroom assistance.

Principals were observed working in their offices, "making the rounds" of school buildings and playgrounds, and in meetings with students, teaching staff, parents, and other principals. The latter included the regular monthly meeting of all elementary principals in the district, a meeting of principals and vice-principals serving schools receiving various compensatory education funds, and small group principals' meetings. They were also observed participating in district committee meetings, a district parent-advisory committee meeting, and in in-service sessions.

Central office staff were observed as they met with others in the district office, with principals and with teachers; as they conducted in-service programs for classroom aides, teachers and principals; as they met with community members at district advisory meetings; as they honored community volunteers; as they evaluated a teacher's classroom performance; as they mediated school-site personnel problems; as they interviewed prospective personnel; and as they prepared district, state and federal reports, etc. One staff member was observed conducting an after school session held in response to a spontaneous request from several kindergarten teachers, demonstrating how to integrate social studies into the kindergarten curriculum.

Interview and observation data were transcribed and subjected to content analysis, along with documents such as lesson plans, seating charts, principal memoranda, etc. gathered in the course of the study. The transcribed observation and interview data produced approximately 2000 pages of typed protocols. As elaborated in the body of this report, the central categories for analyzing the data include: 1) the unique characteristics of the rewards and incentives systems available to classroom teachers, 2) the structure of the lessons taught by teachers, 3) their strategies of classroom management or social control, and 4) the fundamental assumptions about the nature and structure of teaching work implicit within the work orientations of teachers, principals, and administrative staff members.

A PRELIMINARY PERSPECTIVE ON TEACHING INCENTIVES

In the initial design of this research project we relied on a conceptualization of rewards and incentives that dominates the recent literature on this topic. Within this literature, the notion of a "reward" overshadows that of an "incentive". In fact, in comprehensive works on organizational behavior both Hoy and Miskel (1978, 1982) and March and Simon (1958) drop all discussion of incentives in their later works, after giving substantial space to examination of the meaning of this concept in earlier writings. The phrase "rewards and incentives" is typically used as if it were a single hyphenated conglomerate term. That is, an incentive is generally conceptualized as merely an anticipation, or "pre-remembrance" (Winter, 1966) of a reward which is expected to follow performance of some task or engagement in a particular activity. Sometimes, of course, such expectations are erroneous and the anticipated rewards are not actually received. The important point, however, is that incentives are here viewed as rewards that are expected.

This conception of rewards and incentives treats worker wage payments (or perhaps the food pellets used to condition rats and pigeons) as the archetype for all rewards. It assumes that the primary motivations for all social behavior are rooted in the ability of individuals to contemplate the

CONSEQUENCES of alternative possible actions. The choice of any particular action, this theory assumes, is governed by a combination of anticipated physical and cost constraints, on the one hand, and reward values on the other. The strength of an incentive (or dis-incentive) can, at least theoretically, be calculated by subtracting the costs of an action from the value of the rewards which are contingent upon that action. Probability theory is sometimes incorporated into this analysis to accommodate the fact that the flow of rewards is often imperfectly linked to the performance of an action and that actors may not know exactly what consequences will follow from specific actions. Thus incentives are sometimes thought to be "discounted" (Axelrod, 1981) by the probability that they will not actually be received once the required actions have been taken.

As described in some detail in Chapter 2, this theoretical formulation encounters some very complex problems when it is used to interpret real world data. Perhaps the most vexing one is that, in contrast with the highly contrived experimental social settings often used to generate research data, actions taken in real social settings involve both cost factors and reward values that are exceedingly difficult to identify. And it is doubly difficult to reduce these costs and rewards, once identified, to a common metric for comparison. Even wage payments, which at first appear to have a simple metric, are difficult to compare if tax liabilities, fringe benefit packages, supplemental pay scales, or payment periods vary significantly. The problems associated with making comparisons among wage rates are trivial, however, when compared to the difficulties encountered in trying to construct a similar metric for such non-wage rewards as commodious working conditions, social prestige, or opportunities for upward mobility. And these difficulties are compounded still further when analysts recognize that SUBJECTIVE perceptions regarding cost and reward values - not objective relationships between action and reward - actually control behavior. (see Weick, 1966, for a discussion of how experiences that one person counts as work inputs may be viewed by others as outcomes).

Confronted by such complexities, it is not surprising that a substantial body of research on rewards and incentives (for educators as well as non-educators) has been focused primarily on problems related to identifying, describing, and evaluating the effects of various objective (extrinsic) and subjective (intrinsic) rewards. With regard to teachers, this line of research has, in fact, made some substantial progress in the last two decades. It can now be said with considerable confidence that students provide the most potent subjective rewards to teachers (see, Lortie, 1975; Miskel, 1974; Spuck, 1974; Miskel, et al., 1980; Sergiovanni, 1967; Thompson, 1979; ERIC 1980b, 1981). Specifically, teachers experience their work as most rewarding when they can attribute to themselves responsibility for improving the ACHIEVEMENT level of their students. Second to improved student achievement, teachers find their work rewarding if students respond with WARMTH, enthusiasm and appreciation for teacher efforts.

Compared to these student controlled rewards, those distributed by parents, school administrators, or educational policy makers are rather weak. Of course, when salary differentials are so great that high school science and math teachers are able to double or triple their incomes by leaving the teaching profession altogether substantial changes in teacher behavior can be expected (Los Angeles Times, 1982), but the modest salary adjustments that are available under typical teacher employment arrangements appear to have a very limited effect on work performance. It also appears that the use of various teacher evaluation procedures to create so-called "merit pay" programs aimed at rewarding cooperative and diligent teachers with higher pay or especially commodious working conditions and other perquisites are about as weak as gross salary and fringe benefit adjustments in offsetting the powerful effects of student achievement (or non-achievement) and student warmth (or non-cooperation). Moreover, administrative complexities have led to the abandonment of merit pay schemes within a few years after adoption in many school districts (Educational Research Service, 1979).

We know that teachers prefer high achieving students, and that they are willing to move from school to school or even from district to district in order to work with these high achievers (Becker, 1952). The available evidence also suggests that if teachers feel that student achievement is not possible they will accept student warmth and cooperativeness as a "second best" but tolerable level of reward for their efforts. It is fairly safe to say, however, that if student relationships are tense and achievement is either lacking or largely attributable to non-teaching factors, teachers will find their work emotionally and physically draining in a way that neither administrators nor policy makers can easily overcome by providing alternative rewards.

Our research was originally conceived and designed on the assumption that the depressing implications of this picture could be overcome if we undertook a fresh, broad ranging, and detailed examination of teachers' subjective appreciation of the various rewards which they either contemplate or actually encounter in their teaching experiences. Moreover, we had hoped to lend substantial guidance to administrators and policy makers by examining how school principals and other key administrators actually control the flow of rewards to teachers. We had expected to find either that some hitherto unsuspected but potent rewards are at the disposal of administrators, or that some under-utilized mechanism(s) for linking previously documented rewards to effective teacher job performances could be discovered and made more useful. That is, we had hoped to contribute to the improvement of teaching in public elementary schools by showing how rewards could become more potent and meaningful by being more appropriately linked to high quality teaching.

As the body of this report documents, however, our data provide no dramatic new insights into alternative reward systems. Nor did we find important new mechanisms for distributing the rewards typically controlled by administrators. To our surprise, the data served primarily to challenge our original conception of rewards and incentives rather than to either identify new rewards or describe new mechanisms for linking rewards to job performance. The most important finding in our data is that INCENTIVES for teachers are NOT best conceptualized as anticipated future rewards or a simple cost/benefit calculation of the ratio of subjective values associated with expected rewards to the work effort required to obtain them. As we elaborate more fully in later chapters, we found that it is impossible to interpret the most important variations in teacher work efforts on the basis of either: a) simple variations in their subjective appreciation of particular rewards (teachers seem about equally sensitive to student achievement and warmth) or b) basic differences in the degree to which these rewards are actually received within their work (there are, of course, great variations in the rewards received, but they do not seem to drive work effort directly). We found, instead, that there is a certain "indirectness" in the way teachers incorporate available rewards into both their imagination and their enactment of work responsibilities. We found that teachers are rewarded most effectively by student achievement and/or student cooperativeness quite apart from whether they self-consciously direct their teaching activities toward either of these rewarding outcomes.

As we watched and talked with teachers we gradually realized that their incentive system does not rest on a straightforward pursuit of identifiable rewards. In fact, reward values are not generally the primary or immediate objective of thought when they contemplate and plan for their work. We came to recognize that interpreting incentive systems requires that we grapple with a new perspective on teacher work experiences. To oversimplify, we came to realize that although rewards are "gotten" - and getting them is what is anticipated when a teacher (or anyone else) contemplates a task in terms of the rewards to be reaped — incentives moderate behavior in a rather different way. Incentives involve the motivation to "do" something, not just to "get" something for having done it. Thus incentives involve contemplating or imagining the PROCESS of performing a task not just anticipating its outcome or consequences.

Perhaps an illustration will make this rather subtle distinction clearer. A member of the Dallas Cowboys football team was interviewed on national television following a shut-out victory over Tampa Bay in a 1981 NFL playoff game. He explained the team's performance on the field that day by referring to the bonuses paid for playing in post-season games and saying that his teammates were "playing for the money" that afternoon. This phrase, "playing for the money" reflects, of course, the dominant notion of rewards and incentives described above. The Dallas Cowboys, we were being told, were playing that day in order to "get" the financial rewards which would accompany winning that particular game. Note, however, that this remark was offered as an explanation for an especially impressive victory, on that particular day. By implication, we are also being told that professional football players (who frequently receive for a single game more than a classroom teacher earns in a year) do not ordinarily play "for the money". They usually play in order to win, to display their skills, or for other reasons that relate to the process of playing the game rather than the rewards to be gotten after it is over. Though high financial rewards can motivate short term behavior in a single game, the difference between the rewards which are "gotten" and the game playing which must be "pursued" is vitally important. Football players, like teachers or anyone else, can only work for specific rewards (even very large ones) for a brief period without losing the motivation to excel. A football season, like a school semester, is too long for the contemplation or anticipation of monetary or other rewards to effectively control behavior.

Incentives — reasons for engaging in the process of one's work — must be present or a job quickly becomes burdensome and uninteresting. It may be easy to "work for the money" on special occasions, when the money is more of a prize than a salary. Ordinarily, however, the link between work activity and financial compensation is either too remote or too routine to serve as the immediate stimulus for action.

It is equally important to note that, even when impressive rewards are intimately linked to successful performance of a particular task, workers will only have an incentive to perform that task if they can vividly imagine themselves as successfully engaged in the execution of the activities required for success. Few of those who watched the Dallas Cowboys win that game had a strong incentive to participate in the process - not because they would not have enjoyed the rewards, but because they could vividly imagine for themselves only the "agony of defeat" rather than the "thrill of victory".

Incentives, in other words, are destroyed if we cannot concretely imagine ourselves performing the activities needed for success. It is not, as is too often assumed, poor rewards or some uncertainty about actually receiving them which weakens most incentives. Nor is it just a question of whether one believes that the chances of success in performing a task are high enough to balance the effort required. Incentives, as Garfield's work (1982) suggests, involve IMAGINATIVELY REHEARSING the performance of a task - and finding meaning and pleasure in the rehearsal as well as in the performance itself.

Incentives as motivators for "doing something" are uniquely related to thinking of our activities as work. The activities which we think of as either play or gambling are responses to very different motivations. Gambling, for example, is distinguished from working by the fact that the gambler does not differentiate between the rewards to be gained and the incentives for participating in the action. Gambling, that is to say, differs from working in the same way that the pursuing rewards differs from responding to incentives. By relying on chance processes unrelated to one's skill or diligence, gambling breaks the linkage between personal effort and the outcomes of that effort. When external chance factors rather than personal effort control the outcomes of an activity the participants are free to focus entirely on the rewards to be reaped and thus respond entirely to a calculation of the relationship between the costs of participation, the probability of success, and the value of the rewards to be garnered through winning. Too frequently incentive theories confuse this calculus of rewards with real incentives. Our data reveal that teachers respond more to the incentive to do something than to any rewards which will subsequently be gotten, however. And it is recognition of this fact which makes sense of the ways in which elementary school teachers respond to their work responsibilities.

Anticipating the extended analysis of prior research on rewards, incentives, and work motivations developed in the next chapter, we not here that the data collected for this study were analysed using what we have called a "cultural theory of incentives." From this theoretical perspective, an incentive is any anticipated and valued goal, social relationship, or personal reward (either material or psychic) that provides a stimulus or reason for engaging in particular work activities. Before examining the specific incentives motivating the fifteen teachers in our sample, we need to examine in more detail the relationship between incentives, rewards, and the nature of work motivation. Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive review of prior research on these basic issues.

CHAPTER II

WORK MOTIVATION, REWARDS AND INCENTIVE SYSTEMS:

A REVIEW OF PRIOR RESEARCH

The research literature devoted to interpreting various aspects of the motivation and control of work behavior is vast and complex. Lawler (1970) reported that more than 5,000 studies of employee attitudes and motives had been published before 1970. Depending on how broadly the issues are defined, several hundred to a few thousand additional studies have been published between 1970 and the present. It is virtually impossible for any individual scholar to adequately catalogue, much less analyze and interpret, the divergent concepts, conflicting findings, and diffuse theoretical frameworks found in this literature.

Over the last two decades dozens of review essays have been written aimed at summarizing and evaluating various empirical and theoretical dimensions within the literature. Some reviewers tackle the broad fundamental concepts of "work-motivations" (see, e. g., Herzberg, 1959; Atkinson, 1964; Vroom, 1964; Deci, 1975; Korman, Greenhaus & Badin, 1977; Hoy and Miskel, 1978; Thompson, 1979; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980), "incentives" (see, e. g., Clark & Wilson, 1961; Coleman, 1969; Miller & Swick, 1976; or Pincus, 1974), and "rewards" (see, e. g., Miller & Hamblin, 1963; Cherrington, Reitz & Scott, 1973; Spuck, 1974; Slavin, 1977, 1980; or Whiddon, 1978). Others confine their attention to narrower and more specialized concepts such as: "attribution" (Kukla, 1972), "efficacy" (Fuller, et al., 1982), "equity" (Pritchard, 1969 or Goodman & Friedman, 1971), "expectancy" (Peters, 1977 or Miskel, Defrain & Wilcox, 1980), or "self-esteem" (Tharenou, 1979).

Despite the extensiveness of the literature and the frequency with which various aspects of it have been reviewed, however, a number of serious theoretical and empirical problems remain unsolved. Empirical studies, for example, continue to support all of the possible relationships between worker satisfaction and job performance. Herzberg (1966) and his colleagues are the leading supporters of the view that worker satisfaction leads to improved performance. Vroom (1964) reviewed correlational studies on the subject and concluded that there is a consistent, though weak, support for this position. Porter & Lawler (1968) and Dawis, et al., (n.d.), by contrast, interpret their data to mean that the causal linkage is in the other direction — worker satisfaction is a RESULT rather than a cause of high work performance. March & Simon (1958) support this view theoretically when they argue that:

> Motivation to produce stems from a present or anticipated state of discontent and a perception of a direct connection between individual production and a new state of satisfaction. (p. 158).

Cherrington, Reitz & Scott (1973) offer the view that job performance and worker satisfaction are independently stimulated by reward systems. Vroom (1964) embraces this view, arguing that satisfaction and performance each depend upon different organizational characteristics, with no apparent causal link between them. Greene (1973) analyzes this problem in some detail and offers evidence which, while supporting the view that satisfaction, performance, and reward systems interact with each other, explains only a small fraction of the variance in these variables.

Although research design and data analysis weaknesses are fairly widespread in the literature, the widely divergent findings related to these basic variables spring more from theoretical problems than from any data collection or design problems. The conceptual frameworks employed by various scholars diverge so sharply that it is often difficult to tell how their findings can even be compared, much less whether they offer corroborating or conflicting evidence. Important theoretical discontinuities occur at two quite different levels. First, similar terms are differently defined by various scholars, rendering comparison of their methods and findings very difficult. At a deeper level, we find that scholars have relied on at least six different and largely incompatible psychological theories of human motivation in formulating concepts and designing research, frequently without explicitly identifying which theory they are using.

To compound the situation, theoretical problems at one level interact with those at the other, creating further difficulties in assessing the validity, reliability and/or significance of research findings. Scholars who begin with different psychological assumptions, naturally, define their terms differently. All too often, however, research findings are presented without a clearly formulated psychology of motivation, thus creating substantial confusion about the basis on which definitions of key terms have been constructed.

A theory of motivation, while necessary, is not all that is required to generate an adequate theoretical framework for interpreting work behavior. Work, at least for teachers, takes place primarily within organizations and social groups. In order to explain how work behavior is influenced or controlled it is necessary to interpret relationships between the psychological bases of individual motivation and the social and organizational factors which establish the context within which individual workers are motivated (or not motivated) to action.

Because most of the research on work motivation has been undertaken by psychologists, it has been rather weak in conceptualizing these social and organizational context factors. In the remainder of this chapter, therefore, we will concentrate on developing a conceptual framework capable of linking organizational and social contextual factors with the motivation of workers. In order to do so, we first examine the concepts of work motivation, reward, and incentive. Once these terms have been reviewed, we turn to an examination of the six alternative psychological theories underlying the development of these concepts, and trace the links between these psychological frameworks and the ideas of motivation, incentive and reward.

MOTIVATION, REWARD, AND INCENTIVE

Even a superficial reading of major scholarly works on the control of work behavior quickly reveals that various scholars define the terms "reward", "incentive" and "motivation" in very different ways. Deci (1975) and Lortie (1975), for example, each develop a taxonomy of the rewards which are believed to motivate workers. Each of these researchers enumerates three fundamental reward categories, and each includes "extrinsic" and "intrinsic" rewards among their basic types. However, Deci (1975, p. 121) labels his third type of reward "affective", while Lortie (1975, p. 101) uses the term "ancillary" to describe his third category (see also, Lortie, 1969). A close reading of Deci's "affective" rewards category indicates that it is completely included in Lortie's "intrinsic" category. That is, Lortie defines "intrinsic" or "psychic" rewards to include both the "feelings of competence and self-determination" to which Deci gives the name "intrinsic" and the "affective responses to stimulus inputs" which Deci calls "affective rewards". In Lortie's words, intrinsic rewards include all "subjective valuations made in the course of work engagement" (p. 101).

In separating "ancillary" rewards from intrinsic and extrinsic ones, however, Lortie creates a category which Deci does not recognize. In fact, various elements in the reward group which Lortie (p. 101) calls ancillary (i.e., "objective characteristics of the work which may be perceived as rewards by some") fall into all three of Deci's basic types.

If we accept, for the moment at least, that both Deci and Lortie have made important and useful distinctions among reward types and that each has found a conceptual scheme which is helpful in interpreting real-world data, further progress in the analysis of rewards will require the development of a new theoretical framework -- one which accounts for the similarities as well as the differences between these two taxonomic schemes.

DISTINGUISHING INCENTIVES AND REWARDS

Problems related to the definition of rewards are compounded by widespread confusion over the relationship between rewards and incentives. In a frequently cited article on organizational incentive systems, Clark & Wilson (1961) argue that there are three basic types of incentives: material, solidary, and purposive. In describing these incentive systems, however, they explicitly refer to material and solidary incentives as "rewards". They define material incentives as "tangible rewards; that is rewards that have a monetary value or can easily be translated into ones that have." (p. 134). And when describing solidary incentives, they say,

> Solidary rewards are basically intangible; that is, the reward has no monetary value and cannot easily be translated into one that has. These inducements vary widely. They derive in the main from the act of associating and include such rewards as socializing, congeniality, the sense of group membership and identification, the status resulting from membership, fun and conviviality, the maintenance of social distinctions, and so on." (pp. 134-135).

Interestingly, Clark & Wilson never use the term reward when discussing purposive incentives. They say, rather, that,

> Purposive, like solidary, incentives are intangible, but they derive in the main from the stated ends of the association rather than the simple act of associating." (p. 135)

They elaborate, saying that,

> The end system is deeply implicated in the incentive system of the association. The members are brought together to seek some change in the status quo, not simply to enjoy one another's presence. . . .purposive inducements must be carefully distinguished from solidary ones. If organizational purposes constitute the primary incentive, then low prestige, unpleasant working conditions, and other material and solidary disadvantages will be outweighed — in the mind of the contributor -- by the "good" ends which the organization may eventually achieve. (p. 136)

Incentives, in this formulation are actually rewards, or at least operate like rewards, in order to "satisfy the variety of motives that help to maintain participation in the enterprise." (p. 136). As Clark and Wilson put it,

> All viable organizations must provide tangible or intangible incentives in exchange for contributions of individual activity to the organization. (p. 130)

Moreover,

> Classification of incentives systems makes it possible to distinguish analytically significant types of organizations,

and,

> The incentive system is altered (largely by the organization's executive) in response to changes in the apparent motives of contributors, or potential contributors, to the organization. (ibid).

Thus Clark & Wilson draw into a single conceptual framework the notions of incentive, reward and motivation. Their view is generally supported by Hoy & Miskel (1978) who argue that,

> Incentives are defined as the organizational counterpart to individual motivation, that is, a worker receives incentives from the employing organization in return for being a productive member. Incentives, then, are the rewards or punishments given in exchange for an individual's contribution to the organization. (p. 116).

Taken from this perspective, incentives appear to be a special class of rewards — those that are offered or exchanged for specific work behavior. In Creighton's phrase (1974:16), an incentive is, "not just a reward but an anticipated reward." But defining incentives in this way creates a conundrum.

How is the class of rewards called "incentives" related to the taxonomies of reward types delineated by Deci (i.e., extrinsic, intrinsic, and affective) or by Lortie (i.e., extrinsic, intrinsic, and ancillary)? The Clark and Wilson incentive types obviously contain some elements of each of the reward types identified by Deci and Lortie. Just as obviously, these classification systems are wholly incompatible with each other. The Clark and Wilson concepts cut-across rather than extend the reward categories identified by the other two scholars. Thus, although they define incentives as rewards, they cannot mean that incentives are an additional and distinct category of rewards. To the contrary, the various types of incentives identified by Clark and Wilson are distinguished by variations in the social and organizational contexts through which they are mediated — not on the basis of differences in the essential character of the rewards offered or exchanged.

The conceptual problem here — one which plagues much of the literature on this topic — springs from the fact that the statement "incentives are rewards" has two possible meanings. On the one hand, it could be taken to mean that incentives are a special class of rewards wholly distinct from all other reward categories -- albeit, a class which itself may have sub-classes. On the other hand, this statement can mean that an incentive is a particular attribute or characteristic of a reward — an attribute which, under certain conditions, could be possessed by any reward. In the first case, incentives will show up as one category (or set of categories) in a taxonomy of rewards. In the second, the term incentive doesn't refer to the rewards at all, but to the circumstances or conditions under which the rewards take on the attributes which give them an incentive value. Although much of the literature (including the Clark & Wilson essay) is insensitive to this distinction, only the second meaning of the assertion that incentives are rewards can provide an adequate basis for linking analysis of incentives to the study of rewards. Treating incentives as a separate class of rewards would lead to the absurd view that some rewards never serve as behavioral incentives.

What, then, are the conditions or circumstances under which rewards take on an incentive value? The Latin root from which the word incentive is derived sheds some light on this question. Incentive, Webster's dictionary tells us, is a transliteration of the old Latin word "incentus" which means literally "to set the tune." Thus, while the term reward focuses on the pleasures or satisfactions gained from an activity or experience, the word incentive refers to the fact that contemplating access to these satisfactions leads people to modify their behavior in order to secure rewards and avoid punishments. In essence, this means that all rewards have both a "reward-value" and an "incentive-value." The reward-value refers to the type and amount of pleasure or satisfaction that is produced. The incentive-value refers to the nature and extent to which the reward "sets the tune" for one's behavior. Incentives, therefore, are always contemplated (or in Creighton's, 1974, terms "anticipated"). Other rewards may come as surprises or happy accidents, but it is only meaningful to speak of incentives when the recipients have contemplated their arrival.

There is an important corrollary to the fact that incentives are contemplated. In order to contemplate the flow of rewards, one must understand (or at least imagine) both: a) the character of the particular experiences which one would find rewarding (i.e., understand one's own motives), and b) the mechanisms which control the distribution of those rewards (thus turning them into incentives). That is, in addition to the objective characteristics of the rewards available in the work place, the incentive system available to a worker depends upon two basic factors. First, the incentive-value of any particular reward depends upon the set of motivations with which each worker enters the work place. Changes in motivation will lead workers to alter their interest in and sensitivity to various types of rewards. Secondly, since the capacity of any work organization to control the flow of various rewards is always limited, the incentive system will be shaped by the specific mechanisms for controlling reward distribution, and the ability of the work organization to bring that system of control to the attention of the workers.

It was Chester Barnard (1938:141) who first noted the possibility for improving the incentive value of an organizational reward system by either altering a worker's "state of mind" or improving the capacity of the work organization to offer rewards which are already recognized as "worthwhile." As he put it in his classic formulation,

> An organization can secure the efforts necessary to its existence . . . either by the objective inducements it provides or by changing states of mind. It seems to me improbable that any organization can exist as a practical matter which does not employ both methods in combination. In some organizations the emphasis is on the offering of objective incentives — this is true of most industrial organizations. In others the preponderance is on the state of mind — this is true of most patriotic and religious organizations.
>
> We shall call the process of offering objective incentives "the method of incentives"; and the process of changing subjective attitudes "the method of persuasion."

Barnard's distinction between altering objective reward systems and altering the workers' state of mind will be taken up later in our discussion of the psychological frameworks underlying the various theories of work-motivation. The important point here is that incentives represent a "methodological" use of rewards — an effort by social groups and organizations to encourage or induce specific behaviors. Thus, the concept of an incentive is, theoretically speaking, "orthogonal" to that of a reward. By orthogonal, we mean that the relationships between incentives and rewards can be graphically represented as the two intersecting dimensions in a chart, such as Figure II-1 shown below. The same activities and experiences which, from one perspective, are seen as rewards (because they produce varying levels of self-fulfillment, personal pleasure, or satisfaction) can be seen, from another perspective, as incentives (because they "call the tune" for a person's behavior by being contingent upon participation in, or performance of, particular activities).

FIGURE II-1. CROSS-CLASSIFICATION OF REWARDS AND INCENTIVES

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">INCENTIVE SYSTEMS</th><th colspan="2">REWARD CATGORIES
(Self-fulfillment, pleasure, or satisfaction)</th></tr>
<tr><th>INTRINSIC
(Psychic/Subjective)</th><th>EXTRINSIC
(Physical/Objective)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="7">INDIVIDUAL INCENTIVES

(Divisible, Personal Distribution)</td><td>Deci's (1975) "intrinsic & affective"
Lortie's (1975) "intrisic" or "psysic"
Coleman (1969)</td><td>Deci's (1975) "extrinsic"
Lortie's (1975) "extrinsic"
Clark & Wilson (1961) "material"
Lawler's (1977) "individual plans"
Merit/Incentive Pgms.
Yukl & Latham (1975)
Yukl, Latham & Purcell (1976)
TRAINING (1979,1980)
Creighton (1974)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Calder & Staw (1975)---></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Kopelman (1976)---></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Pinder (1976)---></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Whiddon (1978)----></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Daniel & Esser (1980)---></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---O'Reilly & Caldwell (1980)---></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">GROUP INCENTIVES

(Solidary, Social Distribution)</td><td colspan="2"><---Lortie's (1975) "ancillary"---></td></tr>
<tr><td>Clark & Wilson (1961) "solidary"
Ouchi (1981)</td><td>Lawler's (1977) "group plans"
Slavin (1977, 1980)
London & Oldham (1977)
Deutsch (1949a, 1949b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Miller & Hamblin (1963)---></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"><---Schwab (1973)---></td></tr>
<tr><td>ORGANIZATIONAL INCENTIVES

(Purposive, Structural Distribution)</td><td>Clark & Wilson (1961) "purposive"
Ouchi (1981)
Berman & Mclaughlin (1975)
Coleman (1969)</td><td>Lawler's (1977) "Org.-wide plans"
Tax-incentive schemes
Pincus (1974)
Porter & Warner (1973)
Carlson (1965)</td></tr>
</table>

Along the reward dimension, Figure II-1 has been divided into only two columns (labeled "extrinsic" and "intrinsic"). As noted previously, there is virtually unanimous agreement among serious scholars that these two types of rewards are fundamentally different in character. None of the numerous other categories of rewards proposed in the literature have either the conceptual clarity or empirical reliability of these two. Some other proposed reward categories, like Deci's (1975) notion of affective rewards, are best seen as sub-types of the intrinsic and extrinsic categories. Others, like Lortie's (1969, 1975) ancillary rewards category, fail to distinguish clearly between the reward and incentive perspectives on these experiences.

Following Lawler's (1977) distinctions among individual, group, and organization-wide wage payment schemes, the incentive dimension of Figure II-1 has been divided into three rows. Although Lawler recognized that the most important differences between incentive payment systems lie in whether payments are made to individuals, work groups, or organizational units, his analysis over-emphasizes the distribution of extrinsic monetary incentives. The three rows in Figure II-1 are conceptually closer to Clark and Wilson's (1961) typology of incentives than to Lawler's. The Clark and Wilson categories, while more theoretically sophisticated than Lawler's, need to be renamed and to some extent redefined, however, in order to highlight their importance as mechanisms controlling reward distribution rather than the characteristics of the rewards being distributed. Clark and Wilson over emphasize differences in the rewards themselves and give too little attention to the distribution mechanisms. It is in this respect that Clark and Wilson, in their otherwise powerful analytic framework, are most misleading. The rewards which they associate with "solidary" incentives (e.g., conviviality, group membership, maintenance of social distinctions, etc.) for example, are distinguished from those which they call "material" in a way which is much more important than simply whether or not they can be given a monetary value. As their overall name for this category of incentives suggests, these incentives are given, if at all, to SOCIAL GROUPS rather than to individuals. Solidary incentives are not infinitely divisible — they arise within groups (usually informal groups) and, when available, are given to all group members together.

Similarly, Clark and Wilson over-emphasize the material character of the rewards in their first group — failing to see that the essential feature of this set of incentives is that they are infinitely divisible and are partialled out among individuals. In fact, Clark and Wilson completely overlooked the various individual incentives which have been of most interest to Deci (1975) and his followers. The intrinsic rewards associated by Deci with feelings of "competence" and "self-determination" are quite beyond the assignment of monetary values. Nevertheless, these personal intangibles are individual rather than "solidary" or group-based rewards.

The problem is that Clark and Wilson have confounded the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards with the equally important distinction between individual and group incentives. By not appreciating the existence of individualized intrinsic rewards, and by not recognizing the possibility that groups are just as likely to receive collective and indivisible extrinsic rewards, these authors have inadvertantly equated individualized incentive schemes with extrinsic rewards and group incentives with intrinsic ones.

Theoretical confusions like that found in Clark and Wilson have played an important role in supporting the development of highly competitive incentive systems in the typical American classroom. By concentrating on the use of objective, tangible and material incentives for individuals while treating excitement, joy and conviviality as group incentives, this theoretical framework invites educators to believe both that individual learning is stimulated largely by extrinsic and, if possible, material rewards while the fun parts of schooling are relegated to socialization in extra-curricular activities or on the playground. Conversely, it leads to a belief that when behavior is inappropriate a whole group of students can be threatened with the withdrawal of intrinsic solidary supports while individuals are given extrinsic sanctions. Provocative work on cooperative learning undertaken by Slavin and others (Slavin, 1977, 1980) contrasts sharply with this prevalent view. This work is based on the realization that easily measured, extrinsic classroom incentives (ones that are typically distributed on the basis of individual performance) can just as easily be restructured and given to groups who must cooperate in order to acquire them. Interestingly, cooperative learning incentive systems have been shown to substantially improve group solidary rewards.

In a similar view, within what they call the "purposive" incentive system, Clark and Wilson concentrate too much on the intrinsic character of these rewards. While it is true that there are important rewards that can be acquired only by an entire organization at once (and are linked to the purposes which the organization is pursuing), it is not true that these purposive rewards are not tangible or material. It makes sense, for example, to talk about a "tax-incentive" system for stimulating various kinds of industrial innovation or investment practices because the obviously material rewards associated with these special tax provisions are given to whole organizations, and are given in order to induce them to change their purposes and their resulting business practices. Such tax-incentives fit precisely the Clark and Wilson (1961:135) conception of a purposive incentive because they, "are suprapersonal (i.e., they will not benefit members directly and tangibly) and . . . have nonmembers as their objects." To be sure, business organizations are unlikely to take advantage of the tax-incentive system if there are no tangible benefits for individuals, but the benefits flow first to the corporate entity (in direct relation to the organization's willingness to alter its purposes) and are spent or distributed within the organization on the basis of the same sorts of processes which are already used to provide groups and individuals within the organization with other incentives for participating in, or producing for, the corporation.

Within the cells of Figure II-1 are shown references to a number of research studies and commentaries focused on the various reward/incentive intersections. As the larger number of references in the first row of the figure suggests, researchers have focused heavily on the individual level reward/incentive systems.

In sum, the conception of rewards and incentives developed here (and utilized throughout this report as the basis for analyzing data from elementary school teachers and principals) emphasizes the orientation of individual workers to the context and experiences of their work. Any anticipated and valued organizational goals, solidary interpersonal relationships, or personal rewards (whether intrinsic or extrinsic) that provide a stimulus or reason for engaging in particular work activities are considered teaching incentives and, thus, are given careful attention in analyzing factors influencing teacher work behavior.

THE WORK MOTIVATION LITERATURE

Motivation is the third basic concept in any analysis of work behavior stimulation and control. The research literature on motivation is broader and more complex than that dealing with either rewards or incentives. In large measure the complexities in this literature spring from divergence in the psychological frameworks used by various scholars. Behaviorists, need-psychologists, and cognitivists rely on sharply divergent conceptions of human nature and have equally incompatible ideas about what sorts of human behavior can or should be explained. We will take up these important problems in the next section of this report in a discussion of the alternative psychological frameworks underlying various theories of work incentives, rewards, and motivations. At this point we want to examine the relationships between the concept of work motivation and the notions of rewards and incentives just described.

Vroom (1964:8,9) frames the problem of motivation in its most fundamental form when he says,

> There are two somewhat different kinds of questions that are typically dealt with in discussions of motivation. One of these is the question of the arousal or energizing of the organism. Why is the organism active at all? . . . The second question involves the direction of behavior. What determines the form that activity will take.

He summarizes his own viewpoint by saying that,

> We view the central problem of motivation as the explanation of choices made by organisms among different voluntary responses. Although some behaviors, specifically those that are not under voluntary control, are defined as unmotivated, these probably constitute a rather small proportion of the total behavior of adult human beings. It is reasonable to assume that most behavior exhibited by individuals on their jobs as well as their behavior in the "job market" is voluntary, and consequently motivated.

Landy and Trumbo (1976:295) explicitly assert what Vroom here implies, namely that,

> Work motivation is only one instance of a more general process. While the conditions under which work is performed differ substantially from the conditions under which other behavior patterns occur, new theories are not needed to account for industrial behavior. The work context only requires some different ways of measuring the components

of existing motivational models.

When examining the use of rewards and incentives, motivational researchers have been primarily interested in how the behavior of individual workers is influenced by variations in the types or levels of the rewards they receive (see, e.g., March & Simon, 1958; Vroom, 1964; Herzberg, 1966; House & Wagdon, 1967; Porter & Lawler, 1967; Dawis, et al., n.d.; Hinton, 1968; Sergiovanni, 1968; King, 1973; Schwab & Cummings, 1973; Cherrington, et al., 1973; Spuck, 1974; O'Reilly, 1977; O'Reilly & Caldwell, 1980; Terberg, et al., 1980). Curiously, the single most prominent analytical distinction in this literature is that made between job "performance" and worker "satisfaction." It is curious that this distinction is so prominent because the concept of satisfaction has long been recognized as being theoretically weak (Drucker, 1954; Locke, 1969). Moreover, satisfaction is an attitude variable — one that is conceptually unrelated to the fundamental parameters presented in most motivation theories. Drucker (1954:158), for example, views the concept of worker satisfaction as virtually useless. His sentiments are captured in the following passage:

> What motivation is needed to obtain peak performance from the worker? The answer that is usually given today in American industry is "employee satisfaction." But this is an almost meaningless concept. Even if it meant something, "employee satisfaction" would still not be sufficient motivation to fulfill the needs of the enterprise.
>
> A man may be satisfied with his job because he really finds fulfillment in it. He may also be satisfied because the job permits him to "get by." A man may be dissatisfied because he is genuinely discontented. But he may also be dissatisfied because he wants to do a better job, wants to improve his work and that of his group, wants to do bigger and better things. And this dissatisfaction is the most valuable attitude any company can possess in its employees, and the most real expression of pride in job and work, and of responsibility. Yet, we have no way of telling satisfaction that is fulfillment from satisfaction that is just apathy, dissatisfaction that is discontent from dissatisfaction that is the desire to do a better job.

Fifteen years later, Locke (1969:309,310) reported that the number of scholarly articles on job satisfaction had reached approximately 4,000. Yet, he asserts,

> Despite this proliferation of studies, our understanding of the causes of job satisfaction has not advanced at a pace commensurate with research efforts.

Moreover,

> Judging from the size of the research literature, this lack of progress is not due to an absence of interest in the subject

of job attitudes.

After exploring the issue in some depth, Locke (1969:316) concludes that:

> Job satisfaction is the pleasurable emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job as achieving or facilitating the achievement of one's job values. . . .job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are a function of the perceived relationship between what one wants from one's job and what one perceives it as offering or entailing.

This conception identifies satisfaction with experiencing one's work as rewarding — not with either "energizing the organism" or determining what "form that activity will take", the basic categories in Vroom's theory of motivation.

In contrast with satisfaction, job performance is directly related to the level of energy and the specific form of action characterizing a worker's behavior. To the extent that motivation raises a worker's energy and shapes appropriate behavioral patterns it plays a key role in determining overall job performance. Thus, job performance can properly be said to represent an operational measure of worker motivation. (On the basis of this rationale Kopelman, 1976, operationally defined work motivation as the number of hours worked, technical and professional reading time, and level of effort expended on the job). In the absence of changes in the characteristics of a job or the capabilities of a worker, expanded or improved work performance depends on increased energy or more focused work efforts — key elements in the definition of motivation.

Spuck (1974:21), following Katz & Kahn (1966), elaborated the concept of work motivation to include:

> three major classifications of behavior required for organizational functioning and effectiveness: joining and staying in the system (recruitment, absenteeism, and turnover), dependable behavior/role performance in the system (meeting or exceeding quantitative and qualitative standards of performance), and innovative and spontaneous behavior/ performance beyond role requirements (creativity, self-training, creating favorable climate, protecting the system, and cooperation).

Lawler (1977:168-172), in a similar effort to delineate the major dimensions of motivation, identifies four specific features of work behavior which express a worker's level of motivation. These are: 1) joining the work organization (i.e., seeking and taking a job), 2) coming to work regularly and on-time, 3) performing assigned tasks effectively, and 4) acceptance of the structural arrangements and authority system of the work organization.

Virtually all efforts to specify the basic components of work motivation concur in making some distinction between the motivation to PARTICIPATE in a task, work group, or organization and the motivation to PERFORM effectively required tasks. Spuck's first concern -- motivation to join and stay in the system — reflects an interest in participation motivation, as do the first, second and fourth components of Lawler's framework. The level of participation or intensity of engagement in one's work is also at the center of attention in Kopelman's (1976) operational indicators of motivation. However, as Spuck (1974:21) points out, "Motivational patterns essential in the recruitment and retention of organization members are not necessarily the same ones which lead to increased productivity."

What is the relationship between this conception of motivation and the concepts of incentives and rewards discussed previously? Clearly the relationship is intimate. Motivation is always an important consideration when researchers undertake to investigate either rewards or incentives. Similarly, when scholars tackle questions of work motivation they invariably come to discussing incentives and rewards. The reason, of course, is that these three concepts each refer to a unique aspect of the same work-experiences. When viewed from the perspective of motivation theory, we are interested in whether these experiences stimulate and direct worker's actions. Incentive theory analyzes whether they are anticipated and thus are the basis of participation in, or performance of, work activities. And reward theory seeks to interpret whether they produce feelings of self-fulfillment, pleasure or satisfaction. Thus, as suggested in Figure II-2, motivation theory represents a third dimension in the reward/incentive picture presented in Figure II-1.

As indicated in Figure II-2, the juxtaposition of motivation, reward, and incentive concepts creates a total of 12 unique combinations of responses to the three basic questions:

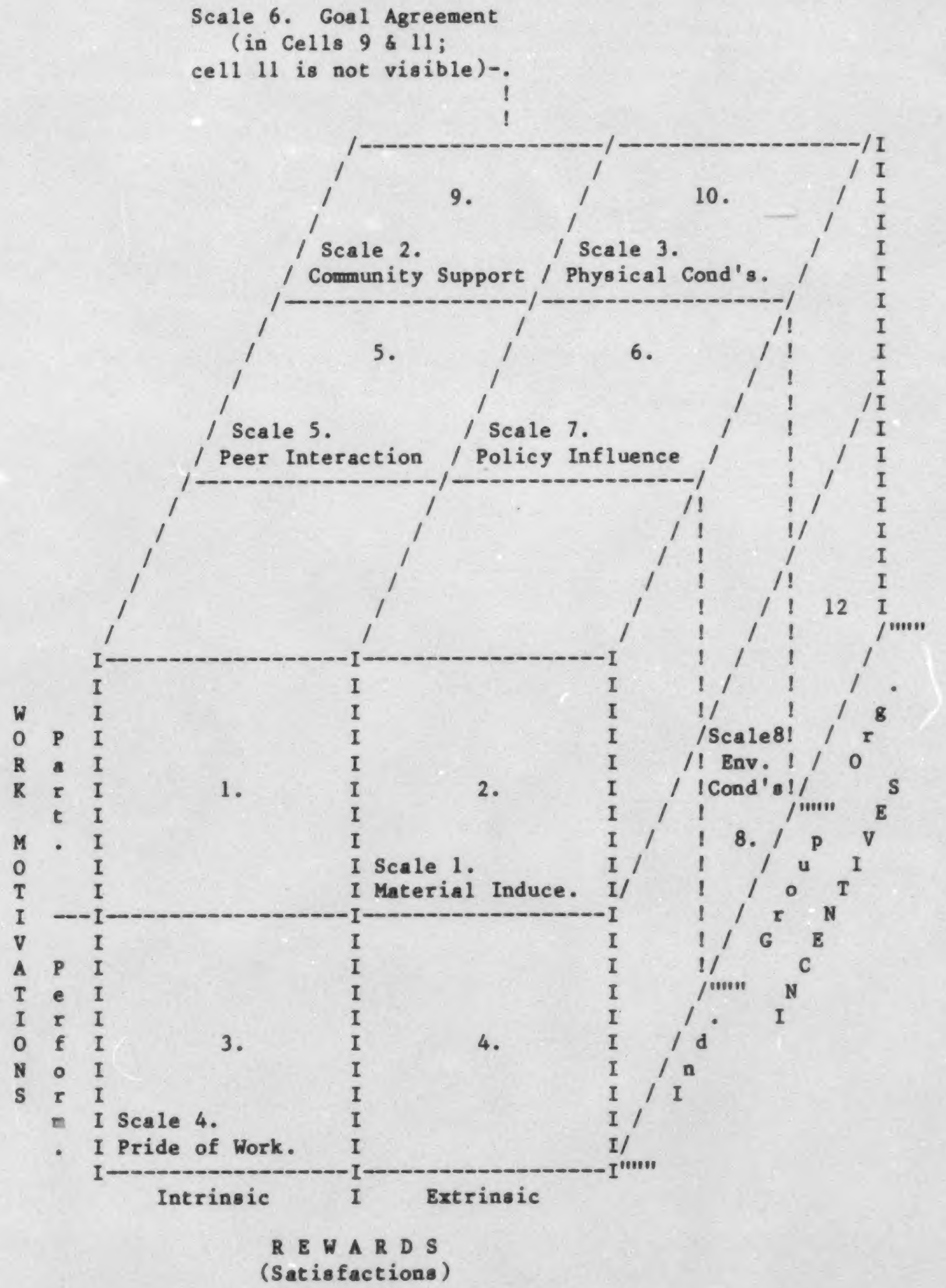
1. Are workers motivated primarily to participate? Or to perform?

2. Are available rewards primarily intrinsic? Or extrinsic? and,

3. Are incentives offered primarily to individuals? To groups? Or to organizational units?

Spuck's (1977) attempt to examine the impact of rewards on recruitment, absenteeism, and turnover among public high school teachers illustrates how various types of reward structures may be related to the different dimensions of this motivation- reward- incentive framework. The "Material Inducements (monetary rewards)" which Spuck attempted to measure in the first of his eight reward structure scales are clearly extrinsic in character, offered to individual teachers, and are contingent upon holding a teaching job (i.e., participation) rather than any specific performance. Thus, these rewards reflect the sorts of experiences associated with Cell 2 of our figure. His second scale, "Support and Recognition of Community" represents an array of intrinsically meaningful experiences which are generally available (if at all) only to the entire school system faculty. To some extent, of course, the level of recognition and/or support experienced by individual faculty members deviates from that generally available to their colleagues. Generally speaking, however, recognition and support for all of the teachers in a school are affected by community views of the whole school system. Typically, therefore, this scale measures the experiences found in Cell 9 of Figure II-2.

FIGURE II-2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WORK MOTIVATIONS, REWARDS, AND INCENTIVES.
(With Spuck's, 1977, reward scales)


Scale 6. Goal Agreement
(in Cells 9 & 11;
cell 11 is not visible)-.
9.
10.
Scale 2.
Community Support
Scale 3.
Physical Cond's.
5.
6.
Scale 5.
Peer Interaction
Scale 7.
Policy Influence
12
WORK MOTIVATIONS
Part.
Perform.
1.
2.
Scale 8
Env.
Cond's
8.
Scale 1.
Material Induce.
3.
4.
Scale 4.
Pride of Work.
Intrinsic
Extrinsic
REWARDS
(Satisfactions)
Group INCENTIVES
Indiv.

Spuck's third scale, "Physical Conditions" assesses extrinsic rewards typically given more or less equally to the whole school organization, without being linked very closely to job performance. Thus this scale is related to the experiences found in Cell 10 of Figure II-2. His fourth scale, "Pride of Workmanship", is clearly intrinsic in character. It is also related to performance and measures rewards which are available directly to individuals. Hence this scale measures experiences related to Cell 3.

Scale 5 in Spuck's study, "Social Interaction with Peers", measures intrinsic rewards that are available to group members on the basis of their participation rather than performance. This scale, therefore, should reflect experiences in Cell 5 of our figure. Spuck's sixth scale, "Agreement with District Goals and Policy", though a bit oblique to the conceptual framework being presented here, comes closest to what Clark and Wilson call purposive incentives. It measures intrinsic rewards that are available through identification with the school system's overall mission or purpose. The agreements which Spuck sought to measure are probably only rewarding to a member of the school faculty if they also feel as though the accepted goals are actually incorporated into important work being performed within the school. Thus, this scale should probably be thought of as measuring experiences in Cell 11 rather than only in Cell 9 of the Figure.

Spuck's seventh scale, "Ability to Influence School Policy" could be thought of as measuring either extrinsic or intrinsic experiences. It also appears to combine both individual and group experiences. Spuck (1977:24), however, describes this scale as closely related to teachers' sense of support from and cooperation with school administrators. Hence, it seems likely that this scale measures something of the contents of Cell 6 in Figure II-2 — extrinsically rewarding policy accommodations provided to informal groups within the school who succeed in establishing sustained cooperative relationships. Scale 8, "Environmental Working Conditions" (shown in Cell 8 of Figure II-2) refers, according to Spuck (1977:24), to the manner in which students and classes are assigned and to teachers' ability to teach in the manner they choose. This scale, like Scale 7, is difficult to relate directly to our framework. Spuck sees it as predominately concerned with group life within the school. It also appears to be related to teachers' task performance — not just to their enjoyment of peer relationships. Whether it should be viewed as primarily intrinsic (and thus in Cell 7) or extrinsic (thus in Cell 8) is not at all clear. It assesses experiences in Cell 8 if it is sensitive to actual changes in school operations. But Cell 7 is the target if changes in teacher feelings are the principal cause of variability in measurement.

Though Spuck's work tapped experiences in most of the different Cells of Figure II-2, the measurements which he took did not systematically differentiate between the motivation, reward, and incentive perspectives on these experiences. It is not surprising, therefore, that his data analysis was not able to provide a very satisfactory explanation of teacher recruitment, turnover or absenteeism. His data do confirm the typical finding in this literature — that intrinsic rewards serve as the best incentives for teachers (see, Lortie, 1975; Miskel, 1974; Spuck, 1974; Miskel, et al., 1980; Sergiovanni, 1967; Thompson, 1979; ERIC 1980b, 1981). And his work does suggest that group and organization-wide incentive systems play a vital role in shaping teacher behavior. Beyond these very general statements, however, his work raises more questions than it answers about how teacher rewards serve as incentives or assist in motivating increased participation or performance within the schools.

DANGERS OF OVER-RELIANCE ON SOME INCENTIVES

The available literature suggests that improved work motivation is not simply a matter of expanding the incentive-value of all possible rewards. A number of scholars have indicated that over-reliance on, or inappropriate use of, extrinsic rewards can seriously damage the capacity of workers to derive intrinsic satisfaction from their work, and can even reduce their willingness to perform needed tasks (see, for example, Deci, 1972, 1975; Herzberg, 1966; Kesselman, et al., 1974; Larsen, 1982; Martin, 1978; Miller & Hamblin, 1963; Notz, 1975; Ouchi, 1981).

Figure II-3 identifies the types of rewards typically used to shape worker participation and task performance motives. In the third column of the figure are listed some possible results of over-reliance on each of the different types of incentive systems. Over-reliance on the various individual level incentive systems, for example, can be expected to produce "irresponsible autonomy" among workers by inducing alienation from other workers or frustration among workers who are unable, by their own efforts, to produce results which are rewarded. Such outcomes are most likely in work environments where unclear or conflicting demands for participation and performance are present or where techniques needed for high productivity are not well understood. Many would say that these conditions are abundantly present in schools, and that it is therefore dangerous to rely heavily on individualistic incentive systems for teachers.

Group incentive systems can be expected to overcome individual alienation and frustration (see, for example, Slavin's, 1977, 1980, analysis of how cooperative learning systems improve student engagement with both peers and subject matter). Over-reliance on these incentives can also assist in the development of authority systems which are perceived by managers to be subversive, however. Several studies of merit pay programs, for example, support the conclusion that work performance is improved by these programs only if workers have collectively participated in the development of the pay plans — but managers almost invariably view these worker designed payment plans as threatening to their capacity to control the work organization (see, Scheflin, Lawler & Hackman, 1971; Jenkins & Lawler, 1981).

Dehumanization is the most likely negative outcome of over-reliance on organizational incentive systems. Use of the largely intrinsic organizational incentives described by Clark and Wilson (1961) as "purposive" can easily lead to chauvanistic prejudice or opportunistic insensitivity to persons outside the organization because workers narrowly focus their attention on the identity provided to them through membership in the organization. More extrinsic organizational incentives, such as profit making or high prestige for organization members, can induce parochialism and/or social irresponsibility if they become too central to the motivation system of organization members.

FIGURE II-3. WORK INCENTIVE SYSTEMS: TYPICAL REWARDS AND THE DANGERS OF OVER-RELIANCE ON THEM

INCENTIVE SYSTEMS	TYPICAL REWARDS	DANGERS OF OVER USE
INDIVIDUAL INCENTIVES		Irresponsible autonomy
For Participation		Alienation
1. Intrinsic:	(Interesting work; enjoyable working conditions)	Non-productivty
2. Extrinsic:	(Fixed salary/hourly wage)	Disengagement
For Performance		Frustration
3. Intrinsic:	(Effficacy/accomplishment)	Non-cooperation
4. Extrinsic:	(Piece-work; merit pay)	Faking
GROUP INCENTIVES		Subversion of Authority
For Participation		Cliquishness
5. Intrinsic:	(Solidarity; Espirit; attractive co-workers)	Idle socializing
6. Extrinsic:	(Group recognition)	Divisiveness
For Performance		Competitiveness
7. Intrinsic:	(Team victories)	Conflict
8. Extrinsic	(Group bonuses)	Rigidity
ORGANIZATION INCENT'S		Dehumanization
For Participation		Chauvanism
9. Intrinsic:	(Shared purposes)	Prejudice
10. Extrinsic:	(Membership prestige)	Parochialism
For Performance		Opportunism
11. Intrinsic:	(Symbolic successes)	Insensitivity
12. Extrinsic:	(Profit making)	Irresponsibility

To summarize: work-motivation, reward, and incentive are best conceptualized as three independent (orthogonal) perspectives on all of the experiences which stimulate and shape worker participation in and performance of the tasks and other role responsibilities which constitute their jobs. Motivation theory examines how these experiences energize and shape work behavior. Reward theory analyzes whether workers find these experiences intrinsically fulfilling or extrinsically gratifying. Incentive theory looks at these experiences as intentionally offered in order to stimulate worker contributions to the work organization. Incentive analysis inquires into whether the experiences are offered directly (and divisibly) to individual workers, to informal cooperating groups of workers, or to formal structural units or whole organizations.

SIX UNDERLYING PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

While careful analysis reveals an overall integration of the concepts of work-motivation, reward, and incentive, the opposite is true when we examine the basic psychological frameworks found within this literature. As described more fully below, there are six psychological theories to be found in this research literature. These six theoretical frameworks differ in such fundamental ways that choice among them, rather than a synthesis of their basic elements, is required.

The various psychological theories used by incentive, reward and motivation scholars are identified in the six cells of Figure II-4. The three rows of this figure separate behaviorist (e. g., Watson, 1924; Skinner, 1953, 1971), need-based (e. g., Erikson, 1950; Maslow, 1954), and cognitive psychologies (e. g., Mead, 1934; Lewin, 1935; Bandura, 1977b).

The two columns distinguish between what Lewin (1935) described as "historical" and "ahistorical" explanations of behavior. Vroom (1964:13-14) summarizes Lewin's viewpoint:

> Lewin (1935) distinguished between historical and ahistorical explanations of behavior. He pointed out that the former had its roots in Aristotelian thinking and the latter in Galilean thinking. From an ahistorical point of view behavior at a given time is viewed as depending only on events existing at that time. The problem is one of accounting for the actions of a person from a knowledge of the properties of his life space at the time the actions are occurring. From an historical standpoint, behavior is dependent on events occurring at an earlier time. The historical problem is to determine the way in which the behavior of a person at one point in time is affected by past situations he has experienced and the responses he has made to them. Freud's constant emphasis on the dependence of adult behavior on events which occurred in childhood and Hull's stress on reinforcement of previous responses provide us with good examples of historical explanations.

FIGURE II-4. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES UNDERLYING ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF WORK-MOTIVATIONS, REWARDS, AND INCENTIVES.

	AHISTORICAL THEORIES (Static) Focus on Traits	HISTORICAL THEORIES (Dynamic) Focus on Learning
BEHAVIORIST PSYCHOLOGIES (Watson, 1924 Skinner, 1953)	Reinforcement or Rational Exchange (Taylor, 1911; Keller & Szilagyi 1978)	Conditioning or Non-rational Exch. (Nord, 1969; Jablonski & DeVries 1972)
NEED PSYCHOLOGIES (Maslow, 1954; Erikson, 1950)	Heirarchical or Genetic Needs (Herzberg, et al. 1959)	Developmental or Evolutionary Needs (Argyris, 1957, 1973)
COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIES (Mead, 1934; Lewin, 1935)	Expectancy or Attribution (Vroom, 1964; Deci, 1975)	Cultural Orient. or Social Information Processing (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1979; Adams, 1963; Bandura, 1977b)

Ahistorical theories assume, in other words, that human dispositions to act can be treated as if they were static and unchanging over time. Such theories focus research attention on the identification of individual traits or social circumstances that account for differences in behavior. By contrast, historical theories assert that inclinations to act are dynamic — changing over time. Vroom's identification of change perspectives found in Freud and Hull is accurate enough, but these historical theories emphasize relatively slow, long-term changes in individuals. They give too little attention to the frequent and fairly rapid changes in behavior which can occur in situations like political campaigns or the development of friendships. Research based on the dynamic, historical psychologies focuses attention on learning processes which change individual orientations and thus modify the energy levels or the purposes of specific actions.

BEHAVIORIST THEORIES

B. F. Skinner (1953, 1971) is the most widely read and theoretically sophisticated of the behaviorist psychologists. His work is widely interpreted to mean that workers (like rats or pigeons) are induced to engage in work behavior through positive reinforcement of desired behavior and through explicit conditioning of work habits.

STATIC BEHAVIORISTS emphasize the concept of reinforcement. They see human behavior as guided by a utilitarian "economy" of costs and benefits within which individuals balance the effort-costs of engagement in (or avoiding) a particular action against the rewards or benefits which would accrue from it. This theory assumes an essentially rational exchange model of action. It was epitomized in Taylor's (1911) PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Taylor and his followers saw work as wholly instrumental in character — rewards are assumed to come in the form of monetary payments or social recognition completely controlled by agencies outside the individual worker. Research work based on this theory concentrates on ascertaining whether changes in the size, type, frequency, or mode of delivering reinforcements changes the performance (or, less frequently, the participation) of workers in assigned tasks. The three dominant themes in this research have been: 1) the contingency relationship between rewards and measureable task performance, 2) the schedule on which rewards are supplied to workers (especially the difference between continuous and variable ratio schedules), and 3) comparisons between attitudinal and performance level changes stimulated by various reward contingencies. For examples of this kind of research see, Georgopoulos, Mahoney & Jones (1957) or Keller & Szilogyi (1978).

The appeal of static behaviorism lies in the simplicity with which it links rewards to behavior. By denying the importance (and sometimes even the existence) of mental states, static behaviorists are able to dramatically simplify research designs and data analysis procedures. This simplicity has encouraged widespread use of this framework — especially in the study of so-called incentive- or performance-pay programs. Unfortunately, because it presupposes such a simple relationship between reward contingencies and worker actions, most of the experimental research grounded on this framework fails to examine important social and interpersonal side-effects of the experiments themselves. Keller & Szilogyi (1978), to cite a typical example, elaborately designed a study of the effects of continuous versus variable reinforcement on the performance of two groups of fur trappers. They indicate that all participants knew that the payment programs were experimental and that they would last for only a brief period. Yet these researchers make no mention of the possibility that this knowledge — rather than the payments themselves -- was responsible for work performance changes. Moreover, they failed to consider seriously the implications of statements by some respondents indicating that the experimental conditions had stimulated some behaviors (such as trappers infringing on one another's territories) which would almost certainly produce long term organizational tensions.

DYNAMIC BEHAVIORISM elevates the concept of conditioning above that of reinforcement. The historical emphasis of this theory highlights the more non-rational aspects of relationships between reward distribution and worker behavior. Nord (1969) and Jablonsky & DeVries (1972) are representative of the most sophisticated applications of this theory of motivation to work behavior. Whereas static behaviorism assumes that both the actor and the distributor of rewards know what behavior is being rewarded and what experiences serve to reinforce that behavior, dynamic theorists such as these scholars presume that rewards can just as easily be used to encourage unintended (and perhaps even unconscious) behaviors among workers. Dynamic theory focuses attention on the potential for a perceptual gap between work behavior and reward experiences. Whereas static theorists generally assume that workers will "know" (even without their having cognitive processes) what activities they are being "paid" to do and that they will adjust their efforts in direct relation to the level, rate, and/or scheduling of those rewards, dynamic theorists see this relationship as much more problematic. Dynamic theory assumes that the link between behavior and reward is unconscious for both managers and workers. In this theory workers are not necessarily aware of either the behaviors that trigger a flow of rewards or which aspects of their experience actually produce the pleasures which they desire.

Conditioning theory asserts that, although individuals recognize whether their reward levels are going up or down, they only "learn" at a sub-conscious level which experiences actually constitute the rewards being received and which behaviors serve to control the delivery delivery of these rewards. Thus, while static theory says workers can be expected to work for their pay, dynamic theory only expects them to do whatever makes them feel better. From this perspective, then, behavior is to be "modified" by changing particular reward contingency patterns — not by changing contractual arrangements or other verbal agreements regarding reward distribution. More importantly, since habitual behaviors have been conditioned by previous reward patterns, new behaviors have to be sufficiently rewarded to overcome the tendency for individuals to rely on rewards associated with previous habits. Once "behavior modification" has been successful, however, this theory expects that the new habits can be sustained with relatively lower levels of reinforcement (MacMillan, 1976).

NEED PSYCHOLOGIES

The work of Abraham Maslow (1954) serves as the psychological touchstone for a massive body of literature which assumes that workers have characteristic needs or dispositions which must be met in their work life if they are to experience satisfaction (i.e. rewards). Maslow's theory is of the "ahistorical" type. It hypothesizes that five fundamental needs (physiological, safety and security, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization or fulfillment) are constantly active in every human being. A hierarchical ordering of these five needs — rather than the history of their development — is viewed as responsible for determining which needs will motivate any particular action. Erikson (1950) is a good example of an historical or developmental need psychologist. Erikson, like other developmentalists, asserts that needs evolve over time and that researchers must be sensitive to the particular developmental stage within which a person is operating before they can hope to accurately predict behavior.

STATIC OR HIERARCHICAL NEED THEORY has been most successfully applied to work behavior by Herzberg and his colleagues (Herzberg, et al., 1959). Herzberg's most important contribution to the study of work motivation was to distinguish between those experiences which give workers a sense of pleasure and fulfillment (which he calls "motivators") from those which produce aggressive unhappiness or dissatisfaction (which he calls "hygiene" factors). When interpreted in the context of Maslow's (1954) conceptualization of the hierarchy of human needs, Herzberg's work suggests that the hygienic factors involve lower needs (physical, safety, and possibly belongingness) while the motivators involve the higher order needs of esteem and self-actualization. Herzberg's work has been replicated in a school setting by Sergiovanni (1967) who found the same split between satisfaction producing and dissatisfaction producing experiences for teachers. Herzberg has had his critics (see, e.g., House & Wagdon, 1967) but, on balance, work following his conceptual framework leaves little doubt that work motivation is more complicated and less objectively structured than behaviorists would like to believe.

DEVELOPMENTAL NEED THEORY has not been widely utilized in the study of work motivation. Among widely read theorists, Argyris (1957, 1973) has stood virtually alone in insisting that organizational contexts can and do play a major role in encouraging (or inhibiting) the development of mature adult need patterns among workers. This isolation is all the more surprising given the extent to which these developmental assumptions are natural partners to the widely recognized organizational theories of McGregor (1960) and Ouchi (1981).

Argyris, like Erikson (1950), argues that under the right circumstances individual needs will develop over time from dependency on short term immediate gratification to an increasingly autonomous and self-expressive pattern. To the extent that this dynamic is operative, the attention of Herzberg and his followers has been too narrowly fixed on organizational and job characteristics rather than human development problems within industry.

In a narrow framing of the developmental problem, Katz (1978) offers convincing evidence that workers change substantially in what they find important and rewarding about their jobs as they remain in the same job over an extended period of time. These changes, which sometimes occur in a matter of a year or two, seem to confirm Argyris' belief that time and circumstance render old needs and hence old reward patterns obsolete.

COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIES

G. H. Mead (1934) is probably the most widely read cognitive psychologist. He argued that motivation depends upon the development of socially anchored meaning systems, not just on the genetic or developmental characteristics of human beings. He, like Lewin (1935), Voeglin (1959) or Bandura (1977a, 1977b), offers a theory of human behavior which is inherently transactional in nature. The cognitivists see human action as dependent upon the emergence of the human capacity to "mind" — to perceive, interpret, and evaluate experience in relation to social and personal meaning systems.

STATIC, AHISTORICAL COGNITIVISM views are exemplified in the work of Vroom (1964) and Deci (1975). These theorists accept the notion that motivation depends upon the construction of personal meaning systems which orient individuals to the value of obtaining particular rewarding experiences and interpret for them the possibilities that such experiences can be gained through personal effort. These theorists, along with hundreds of others utilizing their general conceptual frameworks, provide compelling evidence that differences in individual motivation are rooted in divergent interpretations of social and organizational circumstances — not just in the objective availability of rewards or the levels of their unfulfilled needs.

The two most important concepts of static cognitivist theory are expectancy and attribution. Vroom (1964) gave expectancy a prominent place in this framework when he argued that rewards will only motivate behavior to the extent that individuals believe: a) the delivery of rewards depends upon their own behavior (i.e., that effort is "instrumental" in producing outcomes), and b) the rewards have a significant "valence" or value for them personally. Both instrumentality and valence are, according to cognitivist theory, dependent upon how individuals perceive and interpret their work environment. Thus expectancy (the belief that valued rewards can be secured through personal efforts) intervenes between initial interest and ultimate action.

Attribution theory, originally formulated by Heider (1958) involves a slightly different formulation of cognitive psychology. Recognizing that individuals can attribute social outcomes to one or more of four fundamentally different causes (ability, effort, difficulty, or chance), attribution theorists argue that the motivating power of any particular action-reward contingency will depend upon individual beliefs about the causal linkages between actions and outcomes. Thus, attribution theory argues that this aspect of cognition will override many of the objective characteristics of any task or reward system within which workers are called upon to perform. Although attribution theory could just as easily be formulated in dynamic terms, it has generally been utilized within a static, ahistorical framework (see Kukla's, 1972, excellent review).

DYNAMIC COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIES are the most complex of all those found in the work behavior literature. In fact, these theories are so complex that none have yet been subjected to comprehensive empirical tests. The best formulations of this psychological framework are found among anthropologists (e.g., Geertz, 1973; Spradley & McCurdy, 1972), phenomenologists (e.g., Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Husserl, 1962; Heidigger, 1972; Shutz, 1967), and pragmatists (e.g. James, 1890; Dewey, 1920; Pierce, 1963). Bandura (1977a, 1977b) and Salancik & Pfeffer (1979) offer versions closely tied to work motivation issues.

According to these theorists, every individual formulates a set of cognitive interpretations of self-in-world relationships. These cognitive constructs operate dynamically to shape the extent to which various experiences are perceived to be: a) interesting, valuable or rewarding, b) likely to occur, c) linked to specific current, prior, or future actions, d) important to development or preservation of one's self-concept, self-identity, or efficacy, or e) controlled by effort, ability, difficulty and/or chance factors. Using these interpretive constructs individuals formulate dynamic, cognitive maps of their self-in-world relationships. These cognitive maps serve to guide expectations, values and meanings regarding actual and potential events. These, in turn, create a system of commitments to and typifications of social processes which guide actions and reactions.

As we elaborate below, a cultural framework was used to interpret data collected during the research being reported here. Two other versions of the dynamic cognitive perspective deserve mention, however: equity theory and social information processing theory. Equity theory, variants of which have been proposed by Adams (1963), Homans (1961), Jacques (1961) and Patchen (1961), asserts that individuals form cognitive judgments regarding the balance between their work efforts and their reward outcomes and compare these judgments with those of others. These theories assert that tension or "cognitive dissonance" (Festinger, 1957) occurs when there is an imbalance between effort and outcomes in either absolute or comparative terms. As reviewed by Goodman & Friedman (1971) and Pritchard (1969), there is strong evidence to support the conclusion that feelings of inequity have a powerful influence on individual work attitudes and behavior. As Weick (1966) notes, however, which experiences will count as inputs and which as the outcomes of work effort are subjectively defined by individual workers, and cannot be measured in any objective or universal metric.

Social information processing theory has appeared in two different forms. The first, and most clearly relevant to work motivation theory, is that articulated by Salancik & Pfeffer (1979). Their work is based on a symbolic interactionist psychology of the type generated by Mead (1934), and asserts that individuals "process" information derived from their prior experiences, social commitments and immediate feedback from their actions. The processing of this information produces the meanings which are attached to actions and leads to subsequent adjustments of attitude and action commensurate with those meanings. A second version of social information processing theory is offered by Herbert Simon (1979) whose analysis is based on an analogy between social behavior and information processing in a computer. Both of these theories assert that the meanings of individual actions are fluid and constantly being re-interpreted on the basis of events and experiences which are encountered during the course of ongoing social interaction. While social information processing theory appears to offer a comprehensive view of motivation and action, it is a view which has yet to be adequately tested with empirical data.

To summarize: in this all too brief review we have identified six psychological theories within the literature on work motivations, rewards and incentives. Behaviorist theories are the simplest (some would say simplistic) and static behaviorism the simplest of all the theories. As we move from behaviorism through need theory to cognitivism, the theories become increasingly complex. The dynamic cognitivist theories associated with cultural anthropology and found in social information processing theory are the most complex of all. The simplicity of static behaviorist theory has made research on its fundamental propositions easy to design, but interpretation of results particularly difficult. By contrast, dynamic cognitive theories, which are closest to the complexity of real human behavior, have thus far eluded effective empirical testing.

A phenomenological and cultural approach to data collection and analysis was utilized for the research being reported here. The approach used is phenomenological in that it assumes that all human perception and action are guided by the adoption of particular orientations toward experience -- orientations that both limit the ability of individual actors to make sense out of their work experiences and provide the basis for their responses to them. It is cultural in that it assumes that the values and meanings associated with these orientations are developed and shared by social groups; they are not simply individual attitudes and beliefs. Thus incentives are shared among sub-cultural groups or communities whose behavior takes on a common pattern as a result of their shared values and meanings.

We turn now to a brief description of the dynamic cognitive conception of work motivation, rewards and incentives which provides the central concepts for data analysis and interpretation throughout the remainder of this report.

TOWARD A CULTURAL THEORY OF INCENTIVES

The phenomenological and cultural theory developed in the course of this research draws upon the work of a number of social philosophers and cultural theorists. Most importantly, it recognizes that American pragmatism (James, 1890; Peirce,1963; Dewey, 1920; Mead, 1934; et al.) and European phenomenology (Husserl, 1962; Heidegger, 1972; Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Schutz, 1967; et al.) agree that the perception and comprehension of both natural and social phenomena depend upon the prior existence of some kind of fundamental human interest in the relevance of these events for one's existence. This fundamental interest is variously described as rooted in the human need of, or capacity for, "problem solving" (Dewey and Peirce), "intentionality" (Merleau-Ponty), "judgment" (Husserl), or "appropriation" (Heidegger). Despite important differences in their core concepts, however, all of these theorists unequivocally agree that experience comes in a confusing, undifferentiated continuum of sensations which are essentially meaningless unless and until we bring these fundamental interests to bear upon it. It is in the context of this purposeful appropriation of experience that the perception of discrete persons, objects and events becomes possible and the meaning of these distinctive perceptual units becomes interpretable.

In Merleau-Ponty's provocative phrase, our capacity to even recognize, much less interpret, the concrete elements of our experience depends on our capacity to organize those events into perceptual units which "count in our scheme of things". That is, we must adopt a "point of view" or develop a "frame of reference" which focuses our attention on particular sensations and pre-interprets the relevance of these sensations for us. Without such a schematic frame of reference for perception our sensations of shape, sound, color and texture become fleeting intrusions on our consciousness but fail to orient us to their meaning or to provide us with a basis on which we might respond to them.

Cultures represent the shared frames of reference or common points of view used by groups of people to give common meaning to their experiences. A culture is shared to the extent that individuals who are nominal members of a group are able to define common problems and bring common intentions, judgments, and/or interests to bear on the interpretation of experience and thus develop comparable systems of perceptual recognition and meaningful interpretation of jointly encountered persons, objects, and events. Spradley and McCurdy (1972:8-9) define culture as "the knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behavior." They point out that individuals must learn how to interpret the social meanings of their own behavior. Children in every society, as they put it,

> are taught to "see" the world in a particular way. . . Through a long process of socialization children learn to organize their perceptions, concepts and behavior. They acquire the knowledge that members of their society have found useful in coping with their life situation. They are taught, in short, a "tacit theory of the world" (Kay 1970:20). This theory is then used to organize their behavior, to anticipate the behavior of others and to make sense out of the world in which they live.

Geertz (1973) puts the same point more subtly when he argues that cultural anthropologists are engaged in interpreting what members of a cultural group "mean" or intend by what they say and do. Cultural meaning does not exist as a set of abstract or universal interpretations of behavior, but rather as a set of meanings concretely shared (more or less fully) by specific groups at particular times and places. Cultures, like languages, have unique syntactical and semantic structures--structures which are understood by ordering their component parts into a holistic system, not by testing the discrete elements of one culture against those of another.

Winter (1966) following the lead of Schutz (1962) argues that the meanings of both individual and group behavior necessarily rest on the nature of the enterprise or "project" in which a person or cultural group is engaged. As Winter (p. 131) puts it,

> The decisive criterion for the "meaning of action" is the project of the actor—the anticipated state of affairs in his own preremembrance or retrospective recovery of that

> project as elapsed; that is, meaning is "what is meant" or "what was meant". . . . The apprehension of the project may be inadequate, but the project is the criterion of meaning.

He argues that this notion of an intentional project or enterprise is the basis for meaningfully interpreting behavior within all social groups when he says (pp. 130, 133),

> The common culture is, so to speak, the system of meaning of the societal processes--the project of that society in the most comprehensive sense. . . . Actors participate in the common culture according to their location in the society and the degree of responsibility which they assume; however their particular projects are judged within the common culture according to the accepted understanding of how things are done and what is or is not done. We take it for granted that their projects reflect that common culture which we share. Hence social action and social relationships presuppose sharing common typifications and meanings with roughly similar systems of relevance.

Eric Voeglin (1952:27) puts the point similarly when he says:

> Human society is not merely a fact, or an event in the external world to be studied by an observer like a natural phenomenon. Though it has externality as one of its important components, it is as a whole little world, a cosmion, illuminated with meaning from within by the human beings who continuously create and bear it as the mode and condition of their self realization.

This conception of culture as simultaneously a collective project and a shared meaning system operates at each of the three levels (organizational, group, and individual) through which experiences acquire incentive-values.

A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

Building, then, on the work of a number of cultural theorists — notably, Voeglin (1952), Winter (1966), Spradley & McCurdy (1972), and Geertz (1973) — we sought to develop a cultural perspective on schools and classrooms which would illuminate the meaning systems and incentives for action which control the work of teachers and principals. Although any attempt at a comprehensive theory is still premature, three points about the cultural analysis of schools are basic to interpreting teacher job performance.

First, the cultural perspective highlights the linkage between school organizations and the larger society. As cultural projects public schools are driven by demands and expectations regarding educational outcomes which emanate from the society and are embodied in its legal, fiscal, and organizational structures. These societal projects play a significant role in creating teaching incentives. Not only do they fix the overall levels of community support, legal power, and fiscal resources provided to school systems, they also provide the ideological symbols which generate a sense of purpose or direction and thus mobilize and guide educator work efforts.

Second, the need for a cultural project to inform the development of shared meanings and social norms within any social group underscores the fact that classrooms, which are themselves sub-cultural systems, require collective projects and systems of shared meanings for interpreting the behavior of all who participate within them.

Third, by accepting the cultural project or mission of the school as their own, teachers acquire the organization level incentives which Clark and Wilson (1961) called purposive. These incentives produce intrinsically rewarding experiences such as the feeling that one is doing significant work or realizing worthwhile social goals. Because legal, moral and fiscal support for education flows primarily to whole organizational units, teachers also acquire such extrinsic incentives as desireable physical working conditions and professional prestige through identification with institutional definitions of the meaning and mission of educating children.

The fact that schooling is part of a national culture or collective social project means that schools are "meant" to be something for, and to do something on behalf of, the larger society. What schools are meant to be or to do may be unclear, but knowing that they are intended for some societal purpose is a fundamental pre-requisite for interpreting the actions of their participants. Whether we are thinking of teachers or of students, administrators, parents or school board members, the motives and behaviors of all participants in the school becomes interpretable primarily in reference to some presumed conception of the proper business of schooling. Thus we can expect that teachers with substantially different conceptions of the enterprise of schooling will also orient themselves in different ways to their work responsibilities and will, in effect, be engaged in quite different kinds of work.

When schools are viewed from a particular cultural perspective, teachers can be, and frequently are, classified as more or less responsible and as more or less competent in terms of how well they embody that cultural project within their work activities. Such classifications, however, obscure as much as they reveal about the teachers thus classified. Only when the teachers themselves have adopted the presumed cultural system within which they are being evaluated can appropriate judgements regarding their competence or dedication be made. Teachers with different cultural presuppositions may be performing, with skill and diligence, tasks which are not recognized or valued, and will likely fail to perform valued tasks because they do not see them as meaningful. See Clarke (1973) and McDowell (1973) for empirical studies showing that principal evaluations of teachers is sharply affected by the principal's beliefs about proper schooling methods and goals. McDowell's study also suggests that teacher behavior is altered significantly by changes in belief about method or purpose.

To put this point in terms of teaching incentives, meaningful incentives for teaching are embodied in the cultural project or enterprise which is used to give schooling its significance in society. Among the teachers whom we studied, we found two fundamentally different perspectives on the societal mission of the schools constituting one basic element in what Goldthorpe, et al. (1968) refer to as a "work orientation." Some teachers identify schooling primarily with "producing achievement" while others adopt the view that schools have as their primary purpose "nurturing development" among children. We will elaborate on the differences between these two views more fully when interpreting our data in Chapter 3. For the moment, suffice it to say that teachers whose dominant incentive is to produce achievement approach the process of teaching quite differently from those whose dominant commitment is to child development and nurturance.

Among equally competent and dedicated teachers, ones who accept an achievement production definition of their cultural role attend to very different aspects of the behavior of their students and structure their own teaching activities quite differently from those who embrace a child development definition of schooling.

CLASSROOMS AS SUB-CULTURAL GROUPS

In addition to highlighting alternative conceptions of the organizational mission of the school, a cultural analysis of motivation, rewards and incentives underscores the importance of classrooms as primary social groups within the school. In the typical elementary school classrooms serve as authentic sub-cultural groups — generating shared meanings and collective projects which establish social norms and expectations as well as the typifications needed to interpret the behavior of students and teachers.

At this level teachers experience the intrinsic rewards associated with what Clark and Wilson (1961) called solidary incentives. They will either find that the classroom group (and their fellow teachers) to be a close, warm, primary group or a distant, cool and alien sub-culture. In addition to the intrinsic rewards of close association, they can receive rewards of a more extrinsic sort mediated through this group-level sub-culture. This occurs, for example, when close cooperation among group members enables them to secure public recognition or prestige, or perhaps gain a prize or bonus for their efforts.

Of course, not all group-level rewards are positive ones. Interpersonal tensions can spring up in groups where basic group solidarity is well established, thus destroying the rewards of close fellowship. And negative sanctions can be applied to a group by external forces, thus weakening the reward value of existing intrinsic identity rewards.

It is important to remember that neither children nor teachers bring the entire range of their cultural meanings into the school. Both recognize that the school is a place created for special purposes and in which they must learn to participate as members of an emergent group with a unique meaning system. Within each classroom, activities and events acquire an integrity and meaning which only experienced participants can fully grasp. That is why teachers must struggle anew each September to transform a relatively chaotic collection of disparate individual students into an authentic sub-cultural group. Until the sub-cultural frame of reference emerges and engages the attention of all members of the classroom group, events continue to be mystifying for the participants, instructions lack coherence and meaning, and requirements appear arbitrary and capricious.

In the same way that the organization level analysis of schooling reveals divergent and sometimes contradictory interpretations of the larger cultural enterprise of education, classrooms can express different sub-cultural commitments and goals. (See, for example, Clarke's, 1973, description of the difference between "child centered" and "academically oriented" classroom orientations).

As elaborated in Chapter 3, among the fifteen teachers we observed we found a strong tendency for some to embrace a conception of their classroom cultural mission as "keeping school" while others held "teaching lessons" to be central to their work responsibilities. That is, some teachers were guided primarily by a desire to reproduce, within their classrooms, the basic organizational expectations for orderly classroom behavior, dutiful adherence to district curriculum policies and superordinate directions (i.e., had a group-level incentive to "keep school") while others responded to the classroom as a place where activities are invented, where children are engaged and confronted with opportunities, or perhaps even demands, for social and intellectual learning (i.e., had a group-level incentive to "teach lessons").

CULTURE AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

At the individual level, a cultural approach to interpreting motivation, rewards and incentives draws attention to the importance of self-identity for all participants in a social system. Non-cultural theories may conceptualize a teaching "labor market" as an objective fact, and assume that teacher behavior can be accounted for on the basis of certain measurable characteristics of this market. Such theories presume that workers "sell" their labor for various salary, fringe benefits, social prestige, co-worker relationships, commodious working conditions, or some other rewarding experiences. Cultural analysis reminds us, however, that being "in the labor market" is a state of mind — not simply an objective condition. One indicator of the extent to which the labor market behavior of teachers is guided by cultural semantics rather than objective realities is the amount of time and energy union organizers invest in trying to persuade teachers that they need union representation to protect and further their interests as laborers.

Work-role and career are the central terms in a cultural analysis of teacher work motivation. As culturally given, teacher work roles are fairly ambiguous. This ambiguity is reflected in a fairly widespread belief that teachers are always inadequately trained to know how to do their jobs. It is also reflected in the oft cited adage that teaching has no adequate "technology" which links specific activities to expected results (Dreeben, 1970). The cultural perspective, while bringing this role ambiguity into focus does not require that we view it as a problem. Rather, cultural analysis seeks to understand how and why individual teachers respond to this ambiguity. Cultural analysis asks whether, and if so how, teachers are able to establish sufficiently explicit role definitions to be able to plan and perform specific tasks. More importantly, cultural analysis illuminates the ways in which different participants in the school acquire different work role definitions and what happens when these divergent conceptions are being simultaneously enacted. As described more fully in the next chapter, the fifteen teachers in our study display rather different work role definitions with commensurate differences in their work style and emphasis.

From a cultural perspective, careers represent the long term project or enterprise aspect of individual motivation. Whereas work role definitions rest on a more immediate sense of meaning, personal careers are only perceived by individuals whose cultural meaning systems include longer range goals or purposes. Cultural frameworks, which include a sense of career as well as immediate work role definitions, enable teachers (as well as other workers) to tolerate and perhaps even effectively perform tasks which would be less attractive or rewarding in the absence of this sense of career.

We found significant differences in the degree to which subjects in our study (both teachers and administrators) possessed a sense of their work as a career. There were also substantial differences in the sorts of careers being pursued by those whose career perspectives were easily recognized.

To summarize: a cultural perspective on teaching offers the richest and most comprehensive framework for interpreting incentives, rewards, and work motivations. Cultures consist of shared meanings (used to typify and evaluate everyday events and activities) and collective projects (which guide intentions, plans, and actions). Cultural analysis can be applied to teacher incentives at all three levels (i.e., organizational, group, and individual). Organizationally, the cultural perspective highlights differences in the incentive-value of achievement production and child nurturance as the basic mission of the school. At the group level, cultural analysis draws attention to the difference between "keeping school" and "teaching lessons" as the primary incentive or purpose for classroom activities. And at the individual level cultural analysis highlights the importance of differences in perceived work role and career definitions for teachers.

CHAPTER III

THE WORK ORIENTATIONS AND INCENTIVE SYSTEMS OF FIFTEEN ELEMENTARY TEACHERS

The last chapter concluded with the proposition that teacher incentives are best interpreted from a cultural perspective. Moreover, it was argued, such a cultural perspective illuminates the relationship between teachers' overall work orientations and their responsiveness to individual, group, and organization level incentives for teaching. This chapter presents interview and observational data drawn from fifteen elementary school teachers. The focus of attention is on critical similarities and differences in these teachers' cultural orientations which separate them into four distinct groups.

The fifteen teachers in this study are described in Figure III-1. They are arranged into four to their overall work orientations, as described in detail below. The first three teachers, Mrs. A, B, and C, are all experienced, anglo, female teachers. In addition to sharing a common perspective on the nature of teaching, each of these three teachers has a work assignment which gives them some administrative responsibility. Mrs. A and Mrs. B are teaching vice-principals while Mrs. C is a resource teacher with special responsibilities for assisting other teachers with mainstreamed special education students. Two of these teachers, Mrs. A and Mrs. B, are assigned to the two predominately black inner-city schools in our sample. Mrs. C is assigned to the larger, multi-ethnic urban school.

Mr. D, Mr. E and Ms. F constitute the second group in our sample. This group is much more heterogeneous in character than the first. Mr. D is an Hispanic teacher with several years of secondary school experience. He moved voluntarily to the predominantly Hispanic elementary school in our sample in order to teach second graders. He explained his move as one which would enable him to work with younger children where he would be more effective because, as he put it, these are the years during which their basic attitudes and abilities are formed. Mr. E and Ms. F are young, non-tenured, anglo teachers. He works in one of the predominately black schools; she works as a special education teacher in the most suburbanized of the sample schools.

The third group of teachers, Mrs. G, H, I, and J, are also fairly heterogeneous. Two of them, Mrs. G and Mrs. H, are very experienced teachers of younger children. They are both anglos and work in the two predominantly black schools. Mrs. G's kindergarten is a special class created as part of the district's "magnet school" desegregation program. Thus, while she is located in a predominantly black school, the majority of her students are mentally gifted anglo children. Mrs. I is the only Asian-American in our sample. She works in the multi-ethnic urban school. Mrs. J is a young Hispanic female working in the predominantly Hispanic school.

FIGURE III-1. TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND OVERALL WORK ORIENTATIONS

						WORK-ORIENTATIONS	
TEACHER	SEX	ETHNIC IDENT.	YRS. EXP.	TCHNG. ASSIGN.	SCH. TYPE	To Sch. Mission	To Grp. Process
Mrs. A	F	Anglo	10+	4-5/VP	Black	Ach.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. B	F	Anglo	9	5-6/VP	Black	Ach.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. C	F	Anglo	10	Resrce.	Urban	Ach.	Kp.Sch.
Mr. D	M	Hisp.	8	2nd	Hisp.	Ach.	Tch.Ls.
Mr. E	M	Anglo	2	4-5	Black	Ach.	Tch.Ls.
Ms. F	F	Anglo	1	Spc.Ed.	Sub.	Ach.	Tch.Ls.
Mrs. G	F	Anglo	20	Kgtn.	Black	Nurt.	Tch.Ls.
Mrs. H	F	Anglo	26	1st	Black	Nurt.	Tch.Ls.
Mrs. I	F	Asian	6	5th	Urban	Nurt.	Tch.Ls.
Mrs. J	F	Hisp.	1	1st	Hisp.	Nurt.	Tch.Ls.
Mr. K	M	Black	20	6th	Sub.	Nurt.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. L	F	Anglo	20+	2-3	Hisp.	Nurt.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. M	F	Anglo	0	L.H.	Sub.	Nurt.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. N	F	Anglo	20	2-3	Urban	Nurt.	Kp.Sch.
Mrs. O	F	Black	20	2-3	Black	Nurt.	Kp.Sch.

The fourth group is made up largely of veteran teachers. The exception is Mrs. M, a first year special education teacher working in the suburban school. The four veterans in this group share in common the fact that they were identified by the cooperating principals as the "weak" teachers in our sample. Mrs. M, though not initially identified as weak, did have difficulty coping with her teaching assignment and was eventually transferred to a different school. Mr. K, who had been a principal for ten years, had just returned to classroom teaching duties. He had moved to California for health reasons and was establishing himself anew in this state.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections. First, the teachers' orientations toward organization level, or "school mission", incentive systems are examined. Data are presented to show that six of the fifteen teachers in our sample (teachers A through F) believe that the primary cultural mission of schooling is the "production of achievement", while the other nine (Mrs. G through Mrs. O) identify the "nurture of children" as their primary organizational purpose. Following this discussion, a section is devoted to data on the teachers' group level, or "classroom life", incentive systems. As this section shows, eight of the fifteen teachers (A through C and K through O) view student group life primarily in terms of "keeping school", while the other seven teachers interpret these group processes primarily as a matter of "teaching lessons".

The implications of these organization and group level incentive systems for individual teacher work orientations are explored in a longer third section. Data presented in the third section indicate that the organization and group level incentive systems interact to form four separate groups of teachers. The three teachers in group one (A, B, and C) aim at producing achievement by keeping school. Group two, also made up of three teachers (D, E, and F), seeks to produce achievement by teaching lessons. Group three (teachers G, H, I, and J) relies on the teaching of lessons to enhance child nurture and development, while the fourth group (K, L, M, N, and O) utilizes school keeping strategies for this purpose. As indicated in this section, individual level incentive systems are forged, teaching work roles are defined, and career perspectives are formulated as teachers bring their individual motivation and reward system into line with these organization and group level incentive systems.

ORGANIZATIONAL INCENTIVES:
ACHIEVEMENT PRODUCTION VS. CHILD NURTURE

How do teachers decide whether their work is contributing to the basic purposes of the school? Our teachers answered this question in many different ways, but two broad themes emerge from close scrutiny of their interview responses and their teaching behaviors. One theme is clearly expressed in the following remark, made by Mrs. A,

> I really feel that if the child can learn inner discipline and learn to accept the fact that some things are not always fun — for example, reading for some children is not fun — but the only way it's ever going to be fun is to keep plugging at it. So, if they at least get the attitude that there are certain things that must be done despite that fact that we

> don't like it — then everything else will work.

At another point, she reiterates this perspective when she says,

> The most important consideration is probably getting up to grade level. Covering the material, not just covering it, but teaching it, really teaching it. I think it's always been. Maybe that's why I have always been considered a fairly good teacher, because I refuse to accept the fact that just because a child was placed in a turkey reading group, that the child can't learn more.

This teacher believes that schools exist to produce objective, measureable achievement gains among students. She feels that she is contributing to the mission of the school if her children are able to read easily and compute accurately using the materials prescribed for their age group in the district curriculum.

Another teacher, Mr. D, places less importance on such standardized measures of achievement as the district curriculum guides, but he still identifies achievement as the primary purpose of schooling. He says,

> The most important consideration in what I teach is getting the children to like learning. You would expect that math is maybe the main thing, or reading is the main thing, or whatever a teacher's preference. To me, however, it is just getting a kid to learn to like to learn. Because once you get them hooked on learning they go into everything on their own. And, of course, being a good reader and knowing elementary math, those are part of the tools you have to have in order to become a good learner. But that is basically it.

For Mr. D, if children like learning and show real progress in their studies he feels that he is contributing to the school. He elaborates,

> The most important thing that I teach is probably. . . back to the love of learning, or how to learn, or getting used to learning, things of that sort. Because, to say that anything, like behavior, is more important than attitude or attitude is more important than academics. . . it all goes together and I think it is just to get the kids to like to learn. And it sort of includes all those other things.

For a third teacher, Mr. E, achievement is not only the primary purpose of schooling, it is also takes time to show itself. He says,

> It seems like in teaching a lot of your results, a lot of things that you see, you don't see until maybe four, five, six years down the road when you see a kid doing extremely well. I think when I see a kid making progress — especially a kid that had a lot of problems before and people had just

> given up on him. . . Some teachers just give up on kids, saying, "Oh, you're just not going to learn anything." or, "Oh, he is just at this level and he is not going to do any better." If I see him make progress then I feel proud of myself. I think I feel prouder of myself than I do of him.

Contrast the views of Mrs. A, Mr. D, and Mr. E with the following remarks by three other teachers. A fifth grade teacher, Mrs. I, says,

> I see my class as "young broncos" that need to be tamed. Like I'm taking them into a new world. I keep on telling them, "You are in the fifth grade now," because they like to play games in third and fourth and go along with that, but I keep on telling them, fifth grade is like you are taking a step into a whole new world. And maturity, hormones, the whole thing is bubbling and I have to kind of grab them by the hand and lead them through this tunnel. And a lot of them don't even know they are going through it. But eventually they will know that they are going through it. So, I see them as like young broncos that have to be tamed and I really like the challenge.

For this teacher child growth and development are at the center of the school's mission. Academic achievement is desirable, but she sees nurturing her children through their transformation into adolescence as the most critical function a teacher can perform.

Mrs. G, a kindergarten teacher, offers a similar view of the school's central mission when she says,

> The most important consideration in what I teach is what I am giving them. I want to be sure they are comfortable in school. I want them to be happy coming here. At this particular stage, you know, in kindergarten, if they get a lot of heavy academics it does not make that much difference because what they need to know is that school is a nice place to come to. A place where you can learn, but also a place that will welcome and make you feel like it's not drudgery. I do want them all to learn too. I want them to have their reading skills and I want them to get their math skills so we spend time on it, but I don't want any pressured situations for them at this stage. They don't need that. They have a lot of time to grow up and be pressured.

Mrs. L, a second-third grade teacher, provides a third example of this commitment to child development rather than achievement. She says,

> I make curricular decisions, usually, by where I feel the children need help. I try to help them. I don't try too much to impose a regimen. Of course, we have a certain regimen in the curriculum that is selected, etc. But I try to let them go where they are able. And I help them where I feel they

> need help. And they come and say they need help.

Mrs. L's views are much more passive than those of Mrs. I and Mrs. G, betraying a substantially lower level of confidence on her part that she does anything that contributes greatly to the school's primary mission. Nevertheless, she conveys an unmistakeable commitment to the pre-eminence of nurture and development goals rather than achievement production.

Of the fifteen teachers in our sample, a total of six share the achievement production orientation of Mrs. A, Mr. D, and Mr. E. The other nine teachers share the child nurture views of Mrs. I, Mrs. G, and Mrs. L. The six achievement producers share three beliefs which serve to support their view of the school's basic mission. First, they all feel strongly that teachers -- not students — are responsible for initiating the learning process. Second, they all believe that schooling is serious work — work which even at its best is not always fun for either students or their teachers. And third, they all believe that teaching work is primarily instructional, rather than evocative or educative in character. That is, they believe that they should aggressively present materials and learning experiences to the children — materials based on their eventual goal of improving student achievement, not just on students' current interests or abilities.

The nine teachers with child development orientations share the obverse of these beliefs. They each express the view that students bear the ultimate responsibility for initiating their own learning processes; that schools should appeal to the children's interest, curiosity, or sense of play; and that teaching works best if learning is evoked or "educed" from children rather than pressed upon them.

A good example of the achievement producers' acceptance of the responsibility for initiating actions is seen in the following exerpt from Mrs. B's interview,

> The important consideration in my teaching is to make sure that the students are grasping the concepts, whether it be math, reading, health, or whatever. And by getting feedback from them — whether it be body language, verbally, or written — I know whether or not I am doing my job, whatever subject it might be that we are working on.

She makes more explicit her belief that this responsibility is for the children's educational achievement when she says,

> I think I am being responsible for their education. I cannot dwell too much on their problems at home. I can empathize and I can see to it that, perhaps, counseling or a certain agency that could maybe provide contingency funds — if there is no one in the house, or whatever. I can do those things, but when it comes time that they are in this classroom, then by gosh, at that time I must insist that we get on with the lessons, or I could be having therapy in here all day and I would not really be doing the kids a service as

> far as making sure that they have math skills and reading skills, so when they do get out on their own they won't be cheated and that they will be able to survive and hopefully get off the welfare syndrome that's, maybe, been in their family for generations.

As revealed in this passage, her commitments are clearly instructional in character. She delivers specific math, reading, or other subject matter skills which she and the other achievement producers believe will enable the students to survive and prosper in later life.

The achievement producers' belief that schooling is work is captured in a remark by Mrs. B, when she said,

> There's kind of a fine line where I can be loving and caring to my kids, but also be assertive -- such as, "I'm sorry that happened, Susie, or Johnny, nevertheless, we have work to do today, now let's get on with it." I will not let their plight interfere with developing them as a person, as far as their academic work.

At first glance, Mrs. B's use of the term "development" in this remark might seem to mean that she has taken the child nurture view. Her parenthetical phrase, "as far as their academic work" was added, however, just to keep our interviewer from being confused. Mrs. B is unequivocally committed to the proposition that schools are academic achievement producers, not extensions of family life or social service agencies.

In the following passage, taken from Mr. E's interview transcript, the achievement producers' belief in teacher responsibility for initiating the learning process is combined with an emphasis on the view that teaching and learning are serious work.

> Teaching is not very redeeming at the particular moment when you're doing it. I think it is something you have to stand back, look at, and say, "Well, you know we have done this, and I can see how far they have come." And, I think that with a combination class, because I have a couple of kids back from last year and see what they are like this year, that I can more or less compare the fifth grade with the fourth grade. And, I can see the big difference. I can see the big gap right there and I think, "I'm doing a pretty good job after all. You know, I did not do such a bad job." I think that is probably the most redeeming thing — making progress. That makes me feel really good.

In this view, "progress" — Mr. E's word for student achievement — springs directly from the willingness of teachers and students to get down to business. While serious, however, this business does not have to be tedious or boring. Mr. E also said,

> I try to add a little bit to it. I try to be a little funny with

> the kids. I try to say things that the kids will think are funny. I'm reading a book right now, a book about the best Christmas pageant ever. The thing is hilarious, just hilarious. It's about a very poor family, by the name of Herdmann. Right? And they have nasty dispositions and it is just a hoot. The book so far, what I have read, has just been a hoot, and the kids are getting a kick out of it and I'm getting a kick out of it. It is fun to read. It is not real drab material. I don't like the picture of the school marm sitting up there in the class saying, "You're going to do this.", or "You're going to do that." That would be drab.

Teachers with the child nurture orientation discuss these issues in very different terms. Mrs. I, for example, articulates the child nurture viewpoint when she says,

> I'm not here just for myself. I'm here for them, and I need them as much as they need me. Without each other we really could not accomplish anything.

She expands on this view, saying,

> Yes, their accomplishments in, say tests or what have you, did make me happy, but I think it was more of this relationship that we had with each other because I was able to relate to them and they were able to relate to me. Like we were to do math or addition or multiplicaton, or whatever. So I guess what I am saying is the physical thing, it doesn't have to be touch, or it doesn't have to be $20 or a fur coat, it is just "Wow, thank you very much. I really enjoyed it." And, I find that this year the sixth graders who were in my class last year are coming back to see me at recess. "Do you need any help? How are you? Gee, the room looks much different from last year's." And that kind of thing. So I am going "Wow!" I am patting myself on the back and I am feeling fantastic. I feel really great.

Another nurturer, Mrs. L, highlights their tendency to see chidren as the initiators of action. She says,

> What I like is really a sense of the kids wanting to learn. I like it when children start to see what they can accomplish.

Mrs. H, a first grade teacher, is typical of this group in her emphasis on the importance of children finding school experiences both broadening and enjoyable. She says,

> I think that children need to be involved in "doing", so that they are functioning well at both the right and left brain levels when they are seeing and doing. And, I think that, as much as possible, this kind of thing needs to be done well all the time. Sometimes it is very very difficult, but their

> response is in how well they learn, and whether or not they are happy with what they are doing. And yet, at the same time, maintaining good discipline in the classroom so that everybody is functioning and doing -- and having a good time.

To summarize: six of our teachers expressed, in one way or another, a commitment to the proposition that the school's primary mission is the production of achievement -- achievement that can be measured and therefore recognized by everyone. The other nine teachers give primary weight to the school's function as an agency of child nurture and development. For this group, children show growth and maturity in ways that are subtle and complex, and may not be easily measured.

GROUP LEVEL INCENTIVES: KEEPING SCHOOL VS. TEACHING LESSONS

In addition to balancing the tension between achievement and nurture as the ultimate goals of education, every teacher in our sample displayed a clear preference for one of two basic strategies for organizing their classrooms. This second general work orientation parameter represents the group level incentive system described in Chapter 2. In selecting an approach to classroom organization, teachers are determinining what type of cultural meaning system will be developed among their students. They also are defining the nature of their own "solidary" or group participation incentives.

Some teachers see the development of programs, the proper placement of children within those programs, and encouraging or insisting upon student compliance with the demands of these programs, as the most basic elements in their teaching strategies. These teachers, let us call them the "school keepers", believe that educational objectives -- whether achievement or nurturance in character -- are best pursued by creating a classroom environment which surrounds students with opportunities and expectations that both respond to their current abilities and move them toward long-term learning goals. For teachers holding this view, education consists of a set of "experiences" which children encounter, learn to cope with, and eventually master.

Eight of the fifteen teachers we studied (viz., teachers A through C and K through O) held this perspective on classroom organization. As elaborated below, these teachers find their own group identity, if at all, primarily among the other adults in the school system rather than with the children.

The other seven teachers in our sample (i.e., D through J) focus their classroom strategies on the structure and conduct of lessons rather than the organization and implementation of programs. These teachers express the view that learning is more the result of "activities" than "experiences". That is, they believe that students learn through high quality engagement in particular lesson activities and they take a special interest in stimulating and directing that engagement. For these teachers, solidary group incentives are focused inside the classroom, with the students.

THE SCHOOL KEEPING STRATEGY, as expressed by achievement oriented teachers, is captured by Mrs. A, when she says,

> The most important thing I teach is study skills, work skills, and responsibility. I think that a kid can learn. There are certain things that must be done, whether it is an enjoyable experience or not, then all other things will fall into place, whether it is reading, math, or whatever. I have personally enjoyed teaching math more than anything else. I think it is fun because I have always enjoyed math, although I have not been stupendously successful, I guess I have been above average. I love reading. I like to teach reading. But reading — there is not any instant success with reading.

This same orientation is embodied in her remarks at another point where, after telling us that getting children "up to grade level" and "covering" or "teaching" curricular materials are the most important considerations in teaching, she says,

> It's all in your expectations, but I expect them to work at grade level.

Mrs. B, who is not as clearly committed to this programatic approach, nevertheless reports getting her greatest joy from turning around the "snottiest kid you can give me." As she puts it,

> I find it very rewarding to be working with students who are showing growth. Not only academically, but as far as their attitudes, their behavior. I really turn on to the snottiest kid you can give me to be able to help that child discover self-worth and the joys of reading and being able to work out a long division problem. Being able to feed back to me their multiplication tables. To see that growth and to see that joy within themselves, when they have mastered a task, or they are just about ready to and they can feel it.

As Mrs. B sees it, the learning tasks — reading, working out long division, or whatever else might be expected of sixth graders — are given in the curriculum. Her job is to help the kids experience mastery over these tasks.

The school keepers, who take nurture rather than achievement as their primary goal, articulate this programatic issue somewhat differently. Mrs. L, for example, sees it more as a matter of making her life as a second/third grade teacher easier and assuring that the whole educational system becomes more respectable. She says,

> I think that if we had K-1 classes where children were put in a 1 to 10 ratio and then evolved — either tested, taught or screened — so that by the time they got to third grade they could test into the third grade. Then. . . they would still vary in their abilities and speed of learning, so you

> would still have plenty of groups, but the point is, it would give them some feeling of "I've reached a landmark in my school. I've made third grade." And then there would be better respect for the system.

Mrs. O, less concerned with the larger issue of school operations, sees program structure as an important framework for organizing her teaching efforts. She is particularly concerned with the importance of the clock and the schedule as devices for controlling the classroom activity system. She says,

> I can determine what can get done in a class period by the actual time of the work schedule. Now some children, as we all know, are faster workers than others. Some can complete this writing lesson in, maybe, ten minutes. And for some it will take 39 minutes. So, those that have not completed it, will have to go on with their reading. In their spare moments they have to come back and get their writing assignment completed.

A little later she elaborates,

> Those that I know could work a little faster, I encourage them to complete their work at a certain time. "Look at the clock now. By the time that long hand gets to a certain number, I would like you to be through writing." Some are slow workers, but I know they are picking up now.

THE LESSON TEACHING APPROACH, contrasts sharply with the school keeping strategy for classroom organization. Mr. D articulates the starting point for the lesson teachers when he says,

> I love learning and I really get interested in, and turned on, to the things that I am doing in class. I expand on it.

He is so taken by the content of his lessons that, he tells us,

> I discover new things, right along with the kids.

Mr. E says he likes this year's fourth/fifth grade class because,

> We have discussions and a huge amount of the class takes part in the discussions. It's not the type of class that you are trying to wring answers out of them. They all have something to say. So, it is nice. It is a fun class. They are curious about thing .

He elaborates on how his lesson-teaching focus creates a tension between his own interests and those of the district program and curricular structure. He says,

> A lot of curriculum decisions are already made for me by the district and by the state, and so it narrows things down

> a little bit. Certain things do have to be covered. But there are areas that I like teaching. I teach a unit on weather every year, and I like that. I teach a health unit on nutrition and I enjoy that. I enjoy teaching U. S. History because I enjoy the history of the United States. There are certain things that I just like to teach and then there are certain things that I am obligated to teach, like reading, math, and language. There are things that the State of California <mandates>. . . everybody, like kids, needs to learn this anyway. It is part of teaching, anyway, and it has been since the beginning of time. But I do have certain areas that I really like teaching so I teach those areas because I have somewhat of a free han in those areas. I am pretty well locked into the other areas. I have to meet certain objectives in other areas.

Thus, Mr. E finds opportunities to realize his primary interest, teaching lessons, within the relatively more distasteful and mundane process of keeping school.

Miss F, a special education teacher working with seriously handicapped aphasic students, displays her interest in teaching lessons in her insistance that,

> This is not a "behind" class, this is a language class. During spelling drills, for example, I give a clue. "The opposite of tight is. . . " I use a language oriented spelling test as one approach to the work. Earth, for example, is related to "a planet" and "dirt". That's the way I teach spelling. Trying to get as much language into it as I can. These children are stronger auditorily than visually. I'm hoping that by giving verbal inputs they might be more successful.

Among the child nurturers, the lesson-teaching rather than school-keeping focus is well articulated by Mrs. H who says,

> When I decide what to teach — first of all, I take into consideration the children and what level they are, which seems to be different every year. Then I usually try to determine a form of presentation and introduction — something to make the lesson or whatever exciting, something the children will be interested in and that also depends on the group. I do something a different way each year, depending on the type of child and what their interests are. We set this up, and then if I need extra material I go see where we can get that, whether it is audio visual, or I have to go buy something.

In the following remark, Mrs. G, a kindergarten teacher exhibits some tension between the achievement and nurture goals, but there is no mistaking her commitment to taking possession of the teaching process when she says,

> The most important thing I teach in the schedule is — I'm weighing that because, although I feel that reading is important, and math is important, I feel that learning to socialize and get along is even more important — so, I guess the social aspect is very important to me.

And when asked about this "social aspect", she makes it clear that this is a lesson to be taught, not just a set of social experiences within the classroom. As she puts it, the social aspect,

> kind of falls where it falls. Other than our social studies — where we discuss behavior, and "How do we treat our friends?" — it's things that happen during the day, you know. "How did so and so treat so and so? Do you think that was the right way? What can we do to change that?"

In sum: eight of our fifteen teachers approach classroom organization programatically and see their role as "keeping school" while the other seven concentrate on interacting with the children and see their role as "teaching lessons". The first group emphasizes the importance of children's abilities and teachers' expectations. The second group looks more at the students' engagement and teachers' preparation of specific learning activities.

INDIVIDUAL INCENTIVES:
ROLE DEFINITIONS AND CAREER ORIENTATIONS

The fifteen teachers in our study fall into four distinct groups when organization-level, purposive incentives and group-level, solidary incentives are considered simultaneously. The four groups are depicted graphically in Figure III-2. The three teachers who combine achievement production with keeping school (teachers A, B, and C) are shown in the upper left cell of the figure. The three who rely more on teaching lessons to realize this goal (teachers D, E, and F) are in the lower left cell. The four who focus the lesson teaching strategy on child nurture and development goals (teachers G, H, I, and J) are in the lower right cell, and the nurture oriented teachers who rely on the school keeping strategy (teachers K, L, M, N, and O) are in the upper right cell of the figure.

Critical elements in the purposive and solidary incentive systems are suggested along the margins of Figure III-2. As described previously, adopting an achievement production goal encourages teachers to concentrate on instructional processes whereas nurture goals call for an evocative or educative approach to teaching. Similarly, achievement producers concentrate more on curricular content while nurturers emphasize teaching relationships. Achievement producers see school as work; nurturers see it as an opportunity or an adventure.

FIGURE III-2. FOUR ALTERNATIVE TEACHING WORK-ORIENTATIONS AND INCENTIVE SYSTEMS

		PURPOSIVE, ORGANIZATIONAL MISSION INCENTIVE SYSTEMS	
		PRODUCING ACHIEVEMENT ------- Instruction Emphasis, Learning as Work	NURTURING CHILDREN ------- Educative Emphasis, Learning as Opportunity
SOLIDARY, GROUP PROCESS INCENTIVE SYSTEMS	KEEPING SCHOOL Ability Based Experiences Program Structured Adult Centered	THE MASTER TEACHERS ------- Teachers A, B, & C ------- Becoming Academically Disciplined ----- Success: Getting up to grade level. Hardest: Reaching the difficult kids. Distasteful: Lack of admin. support.	THE HELPERS ------- Tchrs K, L, M, N & O ------- Learning to Cope With the Curriculum ----- Success: Functioning as Students. Hardest: Imposing an order or regimen. Distasteful: Kid who hates being there.
	TEACHING LESSONS Engagement Based Activities Task Structured Child Centered	THE INSTRUCTORS ------- Teachers D, E, & F ------- Making Intellectual Progress ----- Success: Kids turn on to learning. Hardest: Pacing the instruction. Distasteful: Having to discipline.	THE COACHES ------- Tchrs G, H, I, & J ------- Exploring New Worlds ----- Success: Kids click with the teachers. Hardest: Emotional energy required. Distasteful: School organization stuff.

As indicated along the left margin of the figure, school keeping strategies emphasize grade-level performance within district curricular programs while lesson teaching concentrates on the presentation of novel, potentially exciting materials and activities which the teacher is confident will produce specific learning outcomes for a particular class or group. Consequently, school keepers find children's abilities an important factor in thinking about and planning their teaching activities while the lesson teachers see student interest as more important.

In the remainder of this chapter we examine the work orientations and individual level incentives shared by the members of each of the four sub-groups in our sample. Each group shares a common set of cultural meanings regarding six basic elements in their work. These shared elements are:

1. A common view about what teaching activities contribute most to student learning.

2. A common set of criteria for determining whether their teaching is being successful in realizing its fundamental goals.

3. A common viewpoint regarding what students need to do in order to be successful, and how successful students can be recognized.

4. A common sense of what the most difficult aspect of teaching is — difficult in the sense that teachers who can handle this task well are truly good teachers.

5. A common view regarding the most distasteful part of teaching — distasteful because it represents a perpetually unsolvable problem which constantly interferes with their work.

6. A common view regarding the central mystery of teaching — the marvelous thing which makes learning possible and which can be celebrated, but cannot be entirely predicted or controlled.

These shared cultural meanings shape the ways in which teachers develop an individual incentive systems. They define the nature of the teaching work role and they tell teachers how to imagine their futures and pursue their careers. Because these individual level incentives are shared among the members of each group, they think, talk, and act in similar ways within the school and classroom.

GROUP 1. THE MASTER TEACHERS

The first group of teachers (A, B, and C) we have called the "master teachers." They have each been recognized by their superiors as strong contributors to the school system as well as effective classroom performers. These teachers have a deep commitment to the production of achievement — a commitment which they tend to articulate in terms of "bringing kids up to grade-level". This symbol provides their basic criterion for successful teaching. For these master teachers, "academic discipline" is the key to improved student learning. Mrs. A puts it well when she says,

> I think that probably the nicest thing about teaching for me right now, is seeing a child who is kind of squirrely, totally irresponsible, start building a sense of responsibility in terms of bringing home his homework, you know, seeing the level of concern raised in a child so that he or she really cares about getting that work finished, about learning those times tables. I think, seeing them develop into responsible students is probably the most satisfying thing for me right now.

Later, she expands on this matter of effort and responsibility when she says,

> I expect them to work at grade-level, or as close to it as they possibly can. And for the most part they do -- because I want them to. And they work hard to catch up to it and I've always explained it to parents, that that's the way I feel, and they can accept that and they will push to make sure that the children get to it.

She concludes with,

> So if they at least get the attitude that there are certain things that must be done — it may be a fact of life that we don't like it, but then everything else will work. It's self discipline.

Mrs. B puts the goals in organizational terms when she says,

> Most of the students in this class are identified as being anywhere from one to three years below grade level in reading and/or math. The class is primarily made up of Black students. We have two Mexican-American students and six Anglos and one Indian. And you might think, "Gee, why do you think about that so much?" Well, at our school we are very concerned with numbers because, as you may be aware, the District schools have been involved in a lawsuit for the past number of years.

She expands on this legal and organizational situation saying,

> We are a Comp. Ed., Title I, school and we are receiving special moneys from the state. We entered into an agreement where we have a school plan — anytime you receive money there are strings, and one of the strings happens to be that we have a school plan — and we have pretty much written our whole program, curriculum in all areas, staff development, etc. It's covered in the school

> plan, so I alwas address that. Also, our proficiencies, by way of the continuums, so that I make sure that all of my kids have been exposed, at least exposed, to mastering the minimum proficiencies before they go on to the next grade.

For these teachers, students succeed by "getting with the program", by "buckling down", and by "plugging away" at their school work. The greatest mystery for the master teachers is that when you really expect more from students, even handicapped or squirrely ones, they will do more.

The hardest thing about teaching, as these master teachers see it, is "getting to" the difficult kids. Mrs. A, as quoted above, talks about this as seeing a kid who has been "kind of squirrely" starting to become academically responsible for his homework. Mrs. B describes it as taking the "snottiest kid you can give me" and helping him to discover "self worth" through the "joys of reading." For Mrs. C, the special education resource teacher in this group, the tough cases which she takes pride in handling tend to be other teachers rather than students. She is declaring her own sense of mastery as much as reporting on her staff colleagues when she says,

> I love the people I work with, as far as the staff members here. Even the staff member that is tactless or the member who gripes.

This attitude is an important part of her work, because,

> My responsibility is to the principal — to support him in the smooth running of the school. I help teachers in ordering supplies. I put in the instructional program those things that are needed to carry out mandates. . . I am a go-between <between the principal and the teachers>.

As master teachers, the members of this group take pride in successfully handling difficult interpersonal problems. But they find it distasteful, and ultimately intolerable, if they do not get support form their principals. Mrs. A told us,

> Had I not gotten interested in working for a principal who really supported me and liked me, I probably would have become a very discontented, burned-out person because I was getting to that point rapidly. I had been teaching eight years, and I had worked for a number of principals, many of whom were totally non-supportive simply because I don't think they had the skills to work with people and to stroke them once in a while and say, "This is a nice thing that you are doing." And I felt like it did not really matter what I did. I was still considered "average", and I was getting rapidly burned-out. Now with my newest job I find that I do see some of the people I work with that just work so hard and some who have either become, or maybe they always were, kind of negative or burned-out acting, and I really wish they would do themselves and the kids a favor and go

> into something else. I really am a firm believer, if you don't like what you are doing, get out, because it's so unfair to yourself and the people that you work with — and this is true for any profession, whether it's teaching or perhaps you work as a sales person — you have to like what you do or you will not be effective. It's hard though, sometimes, to really look at yourself and search yourself as to, "Should I continue?" I think sometimes people get into teaching not realizing all of the ramifications.

She re-affirms the view that this problem of working relationships is an ongoing one for some teachers when she says,

> So many teachers now in Comp. Ed. schools are becoming more program managers, where they are directly working with and responsible for several staff members. . . instructional aides, maybe parent volunteers. I think that for some teachers this is very threatening -- teachers who perhaps have always worked by themselves. Now, the teachers that have been hired more recently, and who have worked with Comp. Ed. schools, they are used to it. But I think that for teachers who have worked for a number of years in a solo classroom — I think they're glad for the help, yet it's also a scary thing because, whether you're good or not, until you develop a trust with the people you work with, who are in the classroom, it can be an intimidating thing.

GROUP 2. THE INSTRUCTORS

The three teachers who combine a commitment to achievement with an emphasis on teaching lessons we have called the "instructors". These three teachers believe that the most fundamemtal teaching responsibility is the development and execution of lessons. These teachers tend to be the loners whom Mrs. B described as "solo" teachers. They view teaching as a technically sophisticated, skilled craft, and they believe that students learn through active engagement in intellectually stimulating activities.

Mr. D offers the typical instructor's description of the wonderful mystery of student learning:

> Watching a child make a discovery is satisfying. They didn't exactly understand something and the excited voice of, "Oh, now I understand!" is one of the most satisfying things for me. And I always try to remind myself that I really don't have much to do with it. It is a realization that comes upon them sort of on its own. You provide them with the materials and you build up the right climate for it to happen, but the learning takes place in their own mind. But it is neat being there at the time that you see it happen.

Mr. E describes the instructor's view of success in terms of student "progress" which he says makes him "feel really good." Miss F, working with aphasic students, illustrates this group's intense concern with the specifics of children's achievement progress. She says,

> I work with students by arranging my priorities. It takes a long time for these students to learn something. For example, N. . . has been working on the clock for three days. She finally seems to have gotten it.

She then re-iterates the main point for these instructors when she confesses that,

> I dread regression. I hope they remember what we learned yesterday.

For these teachers students will be successful if they are given learning activities which accurately match their needs. Miss F illustrates the technical vocabulary with which the instructors tend to discuss this issue:

> For this class, auditory problems prevail for all children. Some have severe memory problems. I look for the deficit area and teach to that. All of these kids have memory problems. All have low vocabulary. All have receptive and expressive problems. The non verbal things tend to be most successful. It is the language factor that is the problem.
>
> I make curricular decisions based on several steps. First, I make a diagnosis, then prognosis, for example auditory discrimination. Like one child will never be a reader. From there you need to determine what the realistic expectation can be. Aphasic kids are successful in math. However, because the child is successful in that you can't just teach that.

Mr. E tells us that it is this inventiveness which makes teaching fun. He says,

> The most important thing I teach is a little bit beyond just the curriculum. I think it's teaching kids to like themselves. I have one girl in the class who is shy and I am trying to bring her out of her shell. I try to do this by teasing her, trying to make her laugh a little bit and things like that. That is what I enjoy about teaching — the one thing that really makes it fun for me. If I had to come in and just teach, that would be it. I don't think I could handle it. I would not do it any more, it would not be any fun.

Remember that this is the remark of a dedicated achievement producer. He is not talking abo[illegible]ng child nurture as the primary mission of the school. Rather, he is [illegible]ing the instructors' penchant to be inventive and creative in their stra[illegible] engaging children in the lesson activities which they believe will lead to the goal of high achievement.

Mr. D links technique to social relationships when he says,

> "How do you get kids to like learning?" I think that the only way we can do it is by being an example of it. If you want the kids to like learning you have to like learning yourself. You have to be enthusiastic about what you are doing. If you are going to present a math lesson, and you absolutely hate math, and you get up to the board you are going to start hating what you are doing, they are going to see it. And it is going to be that way with anything you are doing. And I know from personal experience that a lot of elementary school teachers prefer reading or the language arts areas over math areas. Unfortunately, a lot of children end up with a pro-reading bias by the time they leave elementary school and a rather anti-math bias, and I think that is tragic. I think in that respect we should either be non-biased toward either, or biased toward both. Just be enthusiastic about everything.

Thus, for the instructors, the important thing is to get the kids turned on to learning by getting them engaged in activities which are both emotionally and intellectually geared to their needs.

The hardest part of this process -- the one which is mastered only by the best instructors -- is learning how to pace instructional activities properly. As Miss F, who uses a system of learning contracts to individualize instructional activities for her special education students, says,

> You have to have goals. The contracts seem to show that is required. For example, even N. . . can handle this. It's because they know they have a plan to follow. My hardest thing is to establish how much they can do. I still don't know the exact pace for all of my students.

Mr. D sees the problem as one which could be addressed by effective in-service training programs. He says,

> What I want in an in-service is something that I can bring directly back to the classroom and use. I want, maybe, a teacher to perform a science experiment bilingually and equip me with all of the terminology and all the apparatus used in the experiment and have it printed out. We will watch the experiment, maybe, jot down some stuff on the papers, on handouts that he or she has brought with them, and we will be able to come back and do it. That is the kind of thing I need.

Among these teachers Mr. E expresses the most confidence about his ability to appropriately pace his teaching. He indicates that,

> I have mastered the daily requirements of the work, I think,

> just by repetition. Just repetition. You do it long enough, pretty soon it becomes automatic. I think that I could probably — especially in the basic subjects — go through the school year without ever writing a lesson plan and still teach the basic subjects. I've seen those books so many times I almost have them memorized. I can sit down — I know about what page every kid is on — it just becomes automatic after a while. After you have done it for a while it is just something you pick up intuitively.

The instructors all agree, a good teacher has to be able to handle curricular materials competently so as to creatively structure and appropriately pace their lessons.

The persistently distasteful aspect of teaching for the instructor group is discipline. Mr. E speaks for all of them when he says,

> I hate disciplining. I don't like to discipline. It makes me crazy. I hate being confronted by kids that are belligerent — and that has happened two or three times since I have been here at this particular school. Certain kids just have a lot of problems and are belligerent and I don't like dealing with that. I would just as soon not have to do the discipline part. I am paid to teach. That is what I want to do. I want to teach all the kids.

GROUP 3. THE COACHES

The third group in our sample consists of the four teachers who combine the child nurture mission of schooling with a belief that teaching lessons is the best strategy for pursuing that goal. These teachers see themselves as responsible for evoking learning responses from the children and tend to feel that being "with the children" as they explore new worlds is their most important contribution to the learning process. These teachers want to make classroom life exciting, challenging, and stimulating for the children. We have labeled these teachers as the "coaches" because they move back and forth between imposing rigorous demands for student engagement and offering them warmth, encouragement and a guiding hand.

Mrs. J speaks for the group when she says,

> I love teaching. I find it very rewarding. I find it rewarding emotionally and academically. Emotionally, I am happy when the children's personalities are clicking with mine. And academically, by watching the children progress.

Mrs. I, who sees her work alternately as "taming young broncos" and grabbing the kids by the hand to "lead then through this tunnel" into a new world, celebrates her success in making emotional contact with fifth graders when she says,

> Before I had a fifth grade class I was used to being in a

> preschool, and you know how they would always hug you and they would grab you and, "Oh, teacher, look at this!" I was so used to that. And they said, "Oh, no, fifth graders won't do that." And I said, "Oh, wow! I am the kind of person that has to touch." And so, with last year's class I would not touch because I did not know them, but towards the middle and end of the year, they were coming up with hugs and just, "I think you are neat" and "How are you? Can I help you?" and just these little gestures. even facial expressions, to me, meant, "Hey, I'm getting across to them."

These teachers speak of students being successful when they learn to "love", to "get along" socially, and to be "respectful" of others. Mrs. I, an Asian-American, says,

> The one thing that I want to get across to them is respect. I was brought up with that in my culture. Number one is respect, and if you have respect you can accomplish anything and everything. So, in our classroom it is a give and take kind of thing. Respect for each other and adults, parents, anyone that they come into contact with, because I felt that with the class I had last year. . . boy they were bombed out and we really had to harp on this thing of respect. This year it is not so much, but that is not my bag. That is how I get to them. My personality is loving, respect, love. And they all think love is -- when I say, "Love", they go "Blahh." Now, that's not the love you are thinking about. Love isn't just holding hands, it could be saying, "Hi! Good morning." So, this is how I just get down to the roots of things.

Kids are successful, the coaches believe, in classrooms where they are made to feel comfortable rather than pressured and excited rather than bored. These teachers follow Mrs. J's approach to lesson structure and development when she says,

> I feel that I have to start wherever the child is. I have been in classrooms where the material is too hard or it's too easy for a student. You can tell right before I ring the time, about three or four minutes before, they start moving around, they are done, they are ready to move. They have been there 20 minutes and so I feel that it's important to keep the level of teaching to the individual.

The most distasteful and persistent problems for these teachers are the distractions of useless meetings and paper work demands. Mrs. G says,

> I still love teaching — if that is what I get to do — when I'm with the children, which is what you saw me do today, that is what I love. I love it. But that is what I would like to do all the time. I don't like all these other things. Things that are going along with teaching, the mandated, the

> meetings, the writing, the records, all these things that we have to do without — all this writing down. It is taking a whole lot of time that could well be spent working with children.
>
> My feeling is that we have gotten away from the things that I feel a teacher should be doing, is meant to do — that is really being with children, working with children, preparing the children.

And the hardest thing about their work is the emotional energy it requires. Mrs. I says,

> It is very hard because it takes a lot out of you, and I am really dedicated. My aide tells me, "You go above and beyond." And I say, "I can't help it. That is how I am. I have to." Even if I have used my last ounce of strength I still crawl, I still go and I think my class knows this.

Mrs. I is not here suggesting that this emotional drain is destructive or unmanageable. Quite to the contrary, responding to the challenge to be emotionally available to the children is a measure of one's heroic stature as a teacher. All of the coaches like this emotional relationship with children. And all view it as a measure of their professional competence and dedication.

The mystery for these teachers is the growth process itself. The children unfold before them. The "hormones" flow, "maturity" develops, and new abilities emerge from within the children. For the coaches, teaching is an art form. Children's emotions, attitudes, and abilities are molded and shaped as they learn to participate in the classroom culture and activity system of the school. The teachers direct and coordinate their activities, and call them to perform, but the accomplishments are the children's own.

GROUP 4. THE HELPERS

The last group of teachers in our sample are those who accept chil nurture goals but adopt a school keeping strategy for teaching. As we noted earlier, this group is made up entirely of the weaker teachers in our sample. These teachers define their work roles as "helping" students to deal with the demands of schooling, which are equated with the demands of life.

Mr. K summarizes this group's overall orientation when he says,

> The most pleasant part of the work is being able to work with somebody that, maybe, I can help. I really like kids a lot.

Mrs. N affirms their nurturing orientation with,

> The most pleasant thing about teaching is the growth of children.

Mrs. M also affirms this helping orientation in the following comment,

> I enjoy the interaction with the kids. I enjoy knowing I can positively influence some children. I expect to be doing this for about three years. Then I'll take-off to have a baby. However, I'll return and I expect to stay in this field.

Mrs. L merges the helping orientation with a commitment to keeping children engaged in the district's established curriculum when she says,

> Today we will work on spelling, we'll work in our spellers. We will have our test tomorrow, so I try to help them in any way they need to get through their spelling unit. Some of them are independent and can do it quickly, others need a lot of help.

Finally, Mrs. O reiterates this school keeping emphasis on helping students to fit into pre-set curricular patterns when she says,

> The class is varied, naturally. Some are very active and some are rather quiet. Some are well disciplined and some are not. I think they are nice students. Some have different problems. I can't diagnose their problems because I'm not a psychologist. So, I would not dare to start diagnosing their problems, but some seem to have some problems. I could not go into what their problems are. I work with them to the best of my know-how and try to get them to function as a student.

These teachers all believe that student success is measured by how well they "function as a student." They speak often about students performing "up to grade level", and affirm, with Mrs. L, that if kids were screened and grouped according to their test scores, then,

> This would make my job more rewarding. I would have children who could understand what they are supposed to do at the third grade level, and I am sure it would make every teacher — you could do more, not in a total group, as I said, you would still have to sub-group, but you could at least sub-group with the feeling of some success in doing it. As it is now, in this "One to Grow On" group I have one third grader in the second grade group, and she was the diehard. She can do the work, but she is just an antsy, hyper type kid and school is the last thing on her mind.

The helpers are generally suspicious that a substantial number of their students are either unwilling or unable to cope with the schooling program. For them, the most persistent and distasteful problem in teaching is the number of children who are resistive and non-cooperative. Mrs. M says of her learning handicapped class,

> Almost half of them don't want to be here. They want to

> play. Basically they don't want to work. It takes thinking and work and they don't want to do it.

While Mrs. L feels that,

> The children are more alert in the morning hours than in the afternoon. Because, generally in the afternoon, they are just about exhausted, tired, so that I feel that their minds are fresher in the morning. More time would be on actual work in the morning hours when they are more alert and their minds are fresh and they are not tired.

She goes on to say that her ability to teach is limited by student's capacity to participate. As she puts it,

> Part of it depends on, I guess, the children and their application. When they are "with it" we accomplish more. The days that we've got an itchy or crabby or a tired, or even the days when I burn-out, we don't get much covered. But I think that actually the way I am trying to do it, because I am trying to build it in that they are aware of their own work and they could persevere, they could "hang-in" there for a couple of days and still catch up on the things they need to do.

Mrs. M, a special education teacher by her own choice, nevertheless says,

> Teaching is rough. I've wondered what I'm doing. When you see children learning you don't feel the same way. You see, the children have to have behavioral problems to be in here. The biggest problem I dread is a behavior problem.

For these teachers, the hardest thing is to get the classroom organized and running smoothly. Mrs. O finds that classrooms are "overcrowded", that reading levels are too disparate, that even her blackboards are inadequate forcing her to use newsprint papers instead. Mrs N attributes her organizational difficulties to the changing times when she says,

> I like working with kids. Once I quit working, but returned during the same year. It is harder than it used to be. Maybe its because of the parents. You feel pressures. Today there are too many. Last year it seemed that we were continuously testing.

For these teachers there is not much wonder and mystery in the learning process. It is more a matter of routine, almost dull, plodding through the curriculum and trying to reach the kids with what they need to pass tests, and move along through the school program. Mrs. L even says,

> I guess one of the things that goofs me up is that I try to respond to every child on a different chord and that is hard. I think that is one of the things that wears me thin, because

> I know some children's situations are very difficult and I know that they live in a hard situation. And therefore, while I want them to learn for their sake, I don't feel that they need to be pushed or shoved any more. Because they are shoved by life, where their parents are stuck.

And that,

> I'll tell you honestly, I feel that we are not reaching children. I have all the misgivings parents have about the schools today. It is not that the teachers are not working, but it seems that — I don't know — it seems that administrators and supervisors push all of the superficial things and the actual basic working with kids things are the things that are last on the agenda. Now, maybe I am wrong about that.

The closest thing to wonder we hear from the helpers is Mrs. N's,

> Sometimes kids come up to you, as one girl did recently, and say, "I love you like my grandmother."

When these teachers do experience mystery, it is usually in the form of someone appreciating their efforts. Apparently they feel most of the time that they are not likely to be appreciated for the work they do. And, of course, we found that they are not generally appreciated as competent teachers by either their principals or their fellow teachers.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have examined the work orientations and incentive systems of fifteen teachers. There teachers were found to be clustered into four basic orientational groups. The first group, consisting of teachers A, B and C, holds the view that "producing achievement" is the school's primary mission and that "keeping school" is the appropriate work style for pursuing that goal. They manifest this work orientation by defining their role as "master teachers". Bringing students "up to grade level" is their primary goal. The mark of excellence in teaching, for this group, is bringing this about in "tough kids".

Group two, consisting of teachers D, E and F, shares the first group's commitment to producing achievement but relies on "teaching lessons" as the primary work style for pursuing this goal. As "instructors" they place primary emphasis on executing excellent lessons. Described as "solo" teachers due to the performance characteristic of their lessons, they adopt the most technical view of their work and expect high achievement from children.

Group three, consisting of teachers G, H, I and J, rely on the teaching of lessons to pursue the goal of "child nurture" or development. As "coaches" they seek to evoke or educe performance and social skills from children. These teachers concentrate on providing stimulating classrooms for their students. Additionally, they strive to be emotionally available to their students which they view as a mark of great teaching.

The fourth group, teachers K, L, M, N, and O, utilize the school keeping strategy in an effort to stimulate child nurturance. These "helpers" make up the weakes group of teachers in our sample. They attempt to follow district curricular guidelines in the conduct of their work. Believing that learning is to be evoked from children, but still tending not to initiate activities for their students, these teachers are most likely to feel that children are difficult to organize and to teach.

CHAPTER IV

TEACHING LESSONS:

THE CULTURAL ENTERPRISE OF THE CLASSROOM

From a cultural perspective, the defining features of schooling are embodied in the conduct of lessons. Lessons are the unique and universal cultural activities to be found in all schools, and only in schools. More precisely, if lessons are encountered in any other social institution or context they are interpreted as "like being in school" or "playing school" and are referred to school experiences for interpretation and evaluation. It is within the enactment of lessons that the social purposes of schooling are defined and the interpersonal relationships among teachers and students meaningfully structured.

It is, of course, true that both children and teachers engage in many other activities while at school. These other activities are, however, always problematic. They are perpetually, and appropriately, in need of justification (or criticism) on the basis of whether they support or interfere with the conduct of lessons which are the ultimate reason d'etre of school life. (Some cynics might argue that schools exist to provide child care or group play opportunities in an advanced industrial society. Such a view receives absolutely no support among the participants in this study, however, and will not be taken seriously here.)

To assert that lessons are the defining cultural events of the school is to infer that they perform the two basic functions of a culture identified by Winter (1966) as: 1) defining the collective project or mission of schooling and 2) providing the typifications of action and norms of behavior needed to create meaningful interpersonal relationships. In specifying the purposes of classroom life, lessons provide teachers (and students) with organization-level, purposive incentives for participation in the school. And in generating shared meanings and social norms, lessons provide group-level solidary incentives for those who participate within them. Thus it is through the development and enactment of lessons that teachers concretely experience these basic work incentives.

Moreover, as we have previously observed, distribution of the most potent rewards for teachers (student achievement and student warmth) is controlled largely by the effectiveness with which they are able to engage students in lesson activities. Several researchers have dealt with lessons as theoretical units. In this chapter we will draw heavily upon Mehan's (1979) theoretical framework to analyze classroom lesson structures among the fifteen teachers in our sample. Our analysis is divided into two parts. First, we examine the basic structural characteristics of all lessons -- identifying the universal or archetypical elements that underlie successful lessons and the distinguishing features of four basic lesson types found in the data. Once these structural characteristics have been described we will examine the relationship between individual teacher work orientations and their approach to the development and enactment of lessons. This analysis reveals that members of each of the four basic work orientation groups described in Chapter III (master teachers, instructors, coaches and helpers) share common views regarding the nature of lessons.

LESSON STRUCTURES: ARCHETYPES AND VARIATIONS

Classrooms are crowded, turbulent, complex social systems (Jackson, 1968). Traditionally, classrooms have been largely self-contained social systems consisting of a single adult and many children (Waller, 1932; Parsons, 1958). Most analysts have recognized that this structure strongly influences the events that transpire within them. Dreeben (1970: p.51) offers the typical view when he says they are divided,

> into isolated classrooms, each containing an aggregate of pupils (from about ten to fifty at the extreme, and averaging near thirty) under the direction of one teacher.

He then concludes that,

> this fact in itself determines much of what happens in schools.

The frequency with which more than one adult is present in the classroom has increased greatly during the past two decades. At the same time the isolation of the classroom group has been significantly reduced by the development of specialized programs which temporarily bring new participants into the classroom or take some (or perhaps all) of the regular students out of the classroom group.

Within this context of crowded complexity, frequent interruption, and potential competition for leadership, teachers are required to establish meaningful cultural systems which can guide student participation and enable them to realize educational goals. The critical ingredient in this process, as Dreeben (1970:83) and Smith and Geoffrey (1968:68) have recognized, is the creation of a set of beliefs — beliefs which make it seem natural for the teachers to give directions and the pupils to follow them. It is essential that these beliefs, and the behavioral rules which they support, like all cultural systems, be largely tacit rather than explicit. Otherwise, the cultural system loses its power to stimulate, guide or inspire spontaneous cooperation and degenerates into a coercive and alien environment.

Mehan (1979) provides a cultural framework for interpreting typical teacher-led lessons. He refers to them as speech events, and describes four elements which govern their development. They are: 1) the child must respond appropriately in time and form, 2) the child must respond correctly in content, 3) the activity must provide for the child to be less frequently sanctioned over time, and 4) the child must gradually become more successful in initiating the sequences of interaction (verbal and otherwise). As can be seen, these elements are grounded in certain fundamental assumptions. First, they presume that the school is a cultural milieu into which the participants are continuously and precariously socialized. Second, they identify classroom management and lessons as closely interdependent processes. Third, they presuppose that classroom management is intentional. The classroom management aspects of this cultural system will be described in Chapter V. The remainder of this chapter examines how the cultural milieu of typical lessons evolves and how it expresses basic teacher work orientations.

In specifying the context in which lessons and classroom management processes occur, Cazden in Mehan (1979:x) states that,

> None of the participants in the lesson knew the structure explicitly, the children had to learn it as they learn language, without explicit tuition. As with language, they learned more than anyone could have explicitly taught. This is the kind of subtle progress during the year that a teacher can rarely hear for herself.

There is another reason why lessons have special significance to teachers. Lessons are the vehicle through which the teaching role is enacted. Lesson structures, therefore, determine whether teachers will perceive their work presenting opportunities for self-fulfillment or demands for self-denial or even self-destruction.

What does a lesson structure consist of? First, it provides for the sequential organization of teacher and student behavior. That is, the flow of the lesson unfolds through time from a beginning to an ending. Second, there is a hierarchical organization within which the lesson is assembled from its component parts -- from the most important to the least important elements. Third, interaction sequences are tied together by reflexive structures (Mehan, 1979:75-76) in such a way that the actions of one member of the class call forth responses from the others. For example, typical teacher elicitations and student responses are reflexively structured. They are tied together by teacher evaluation processes to form one complete unit of interaction.

Mehan, looking at teacher-led lessons, suggested that lessons have five basic structural components. They begin with a set of unique interaction activities aimed at separating the lesson proper from other classroom events. This "demarcation" activity is required to "set up" the lesson. Once the lesson is set up it is organized sequentially into an opening phase, an instructional phase, and a closing phase. Activities within each of these phases are given formal and frequently symbolic meanings, thus there are distinctive ritual components within each of these phases.

The ritualistic character of the early phases of the lesson clarifies the meaning and intended sequence of events within the lesson proper so that students are able to focus their attention on the central instructional phase. Not only are the demarcations which set lessons apart from other classroom activities generally ritualized, to a lesser extent so are the opening and closing phases of the lesson itself.

The demarcation rituals usually involve obvious physical movements or specific teacher remarks. The function of these demarcations is to indicate the end of one lesson or activity or the start of another. The opening and closing phases of the lesson are directive and/or informative. That is, during these phases, the teacher either directs the students (to open their books, for example) or provides them with information (about main topics covered in the lesson, for example, or procedures to be used in formulating their responses). These phases serve to prepare students for the instructional phase, and to bring it to a close.

Once the opening is completed, the instructional phase begins. This phase involves an interaction sequence between the teacher and the student. The lesson closes with a similar directive or informative ritual. Finally, an ending demarcation ritually separates the lesson from subsequent classroom activity. Figure IV-1, graphically depicts the flow of these events.

Figure IV-1

LESSON STRUCTURES ACROSS TIME

```
      Time 1        Time 2        Time 3        Time 4        Time 5
------I-------------I-------------I-------------I--------------I-------
Demarcation   Opening      Instruction   Closing      Demarcation
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Mehan's (1979) work was devoted entirely to teacher-led verbal lessons. The fifteen teachers in our study used three additional types of lessons: 1) activity lessons, 2) drill and practice lessons and 3) test lessons. As described more fully below, all four of these lesson types embody the same five part structure. That is, each consists of a core sequence of instructional activities surrounded by an opening and closing and set apart from other classroom activities by beginning and ending demarcation rituals.

Before examining in detail each structural element of a typical lesson, it might be well to look at a few examples in which all of the structural components appear as an integrated whole.

THE TEACHER LED VERBAL LESSON

The following sequence, taken from our field notes of December 3, 1980, contains all of the elements of a teacher-led lesson in nearly ideal-typical form. We pick up the observation protocol as the teacher, Mr. E, is out of the room escorting a group of students to the math lab:

LESSON ELEMENT	OBSERVATIONAL DATA
	8:55 a.m.
	Observer: The aide is in the room and walks from the back of the room, stopping at the left side of the room to observe for a moment and then walks to the front. She does not need to say

anything. She just observes. The students, in a fairly orderly manner have gotten out their work and get to work. It is quiet in here. Mr. E returns.

TIME 1. STARTING DEMARCATION

TIME 2. OPENING DIRECTIVE

Mr. E: "You need to open to page 34."

Observer: They are going to be working in their spelling workbooks.

Mr. E: "I want everyone to put their finger on the first word, look at it, and then look away. Make your mind work just like a camera and make a mental picture of the word.

TIME 3. INSTRUCTION BEGINS

Let's begin."

Observer: The first word is "less". They go through the group of words and spell them out in unison. Mr. E talks in terms of consonant clusters and diagraphs. They are on the word "rush".

Mr. E: "This has a consonant diagraph. What is it?"

Observer: The class responds, "SH." Mr. E turns to the blackboard.

Mr. E: "Remember, there are three main diagraphs, 'sh', 'th', and 'ch'."

Observer: He writes them on the board.

Mr. E: "Okay, let's go on."

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTION
FOLLOWS FOR SEVERAL
MINUTES (it will be
examined below).

TIME 4. CLOSING DIRECTIVE

Mr. E: "I want you to write an original sentence for each word on your dictation sheet. You need to take them home tonight and study. You also need to do your handwriting assignment on page ???. Some of you are having a problem with the letter 'a'. It is looking like a 'u'."

Observer: He shows them how to make it and says what he is doing as he does it.

9:25 a.m.

TIME 5. ENDING DEMARCATION	Observer: Mr. E turns to the 5th graders,
	Mr. E: "Fifth graders you need to take your spelling books out, please."

In this classroom, the starting demarcation ritual is very well established. The aide had only to make her presence obvious for students to know that lessons were about to begin. As soon as Mr. E returned from escorting a group of children to the math lab, everyone in the classroom knew that a lesson was about to begin. The ritualized opening phase of the lesson was also easily recognized by all participants. In this well organized classroom opening rituals were frequently reduced to a single sentence, using such widely recognized phrases as, "Open to page 34".

Once lessons are under way, the primary activity is the exchange of academic information. The instructional phase is structured into three recurring parts: elicitation, response, and evaluation. The teacher initiates, the student responds, and the teacher evaluates.

Returning to the lesson presented above, the following excerpt is taken from the mid-section of the instructional phase:

TIME 3. INSTRUCTIONAL PHASE

Elicitation	Mr. E: "These words have a long vowel sound. What is it?"
Response	"EA. The E is long."
Evaluation	Mr. E: "Right."

This sequence--elicitation, response, evaluation--is repeated again and again as the lesson moves through various materials. The student's replies are evaluated as "Right" only if they are properly timed and correct in both form and content.

THE ACTIVITY LESSON

Before presenting an example of an activity lesson, two additional analytic concepts -- disruption and extension -- must be introduced. One of the ways in which our work differs significantly from Mehan (1979) is the frequency with which our teachers were forced to deal with substantial disruptions of their intended lesson structures. Mehan studied the work of highly trained, specially competent teachers engaged in time-bounded experimental teaching activities. Our teachers represent a broad range of skills, training, and experience levels and were not asked to alter their daily routine in any way for our benefit. We were especially impressed by the vulnerability of our teachers to both internal and external disruptions by events which were unpredictable and difficult to control. We found remarkably few lessons which proceeded as smoothly as Mr. E's presentation of diagraphs to fourth and fifth graders.

The second new concept, extension, refers to the fact that teachers frequently extend the directions or the information provided to students at the beginning of the lesson, altering either the focus of the lesson or the basis on which students are expected to respond when elicited. (Mehan treats this notion of extension, but he does not seem to recognize that extensions are -- in both form and function -- extensions of the opening phase of the lesson.)

The following lesson, an activity involving getting and reading library books in Mr. D's second grade classroom, illustrates how disruptions and extensions complicate typical elementary school classroom processes. Mr. D's beginning demarcation, as is so often the case, involves physical movement. We pick up the observational protocol at 10:38 a.m., just as morning recess is ending:

TIME 1. BEGINNING DEMARCATION	The children line up and walk into the room. "Is Miss Claire here today?", a student asks. "Yes," Mr. D. responds.
TIME 2. OPENING	"When we go in put your library books on the top of your desks and then go sit on the rug."
Disruption	"Richie, you chose not to be able to sit there on the rug because you moved. . . Where is Sandra?" A student, "She just left." Mr. D, "Was that she who just went out the door?" The child nods "yes."
TIME 3. THE LESSON	
Elicitation	"Let's start with that table over there."
Response	The children at that table get their books and go to the library.
Disruption	"Do you have any reason for hitting Sarah? Are you Sorry?" Student, "I am sorry. I was just playing."
Elicitation	Mr. D reads one of the library books that is going to be returned. He also shows them the pictures. "What is Gordon?"
Response	"He looks like a bear."
Elicitation	The story is read.
Response	A student asks, "Would you read my book, Mr. D?"

Extension	"This is a Walt Disney story. This is a section of a bigger story."
Elicitation	"OK, let's try this table, quietly."
Response	They go to the library.
	The children are coming back from the library and they have put their new books on the tables and then sit down on the rug again. When they sit down, they make sure they do not block someone else's view.
Elicitation	Mr. D finishes reading the Bambi book.
Response	A child gives him his new book.
Elicitation	"How many children are left in the library?"
Response	"Three."
Elicitation	"OK, you may go now."
Evaluation	To the student with the new book, "I will not read any Christmas ones yet."
Elicitation	Mr. D takes up another book, "This one doesn't have very many words in it so you will have to look at the pictures very carefully. <He hands to book to our observer to look at>.
Elicitation	Mr. D reads another book. "Can you see?", he asks the class.
Response	They say they can see it OK,
Elicitation	and he reads and shows it to them. A student asks, "Will you read my book?"
Evaluation	"Is it a Christmas book?" "Yes." "I will read Christmas books after Thanksgiving."
Response	"How about GREGORY?"
TIME 4. CLOSING	"OK, but it is long and we may not have time to finish it." The children enjoy the reading of GREGORY.
TIME 5. ENDING DEMARCATION	"Veronica, take the math cards around please."

Activity lessons are particularly vulnerable to the disruptions encountered by Mr. D in the above example. Children are much more likely to break with behavioral norms during an activity than when participating in a verbal lesson. They frequently develop their own goals for participation and attach their own meanings to them.

Nevertheless, Mr. D's use of the library activity follows the same basic structure as Mr. E's diagraph lesson. First, a demarcation ritual signals that it's time to "get to work". Then, the activity opens with directions telling the students what is going to happen and how they are expected to behave. During the lesson proper the teacher elicits student engagement and expression. These elicitations are followed by student responses and, ordinarily, by teacher evaluation of those responses. In the case of activity lessons the elicitations generally call for non-verbal student responses.

Activities are differentiated from teacher led verbal lessons in the frequency with which they require extensions of the opening in the form of new directions or new information. Activity lessons, like their verbal counterparts, have a closing which signals the end of the lesson and focuses the students' attention on its meaning and/or purpose. An ending demarcation ritual releases students from an obligation to participate in the activity and signals a transition to a new lesson.

DRILL AND PRACTICE LESSONS

The third type of lesson enacted by teachers in our sample is the drill and practice lesson. Lessons of this type differ from teacher-led verbal lessons in that students are presumed to know what responses are required of them and the proper form to use in order to obtain positive teacher evaluations. Drill and practice lessons are aimed at improving the speed and accuracy of student responses — not at formulating original behaviors.

In the following example, Mrs. N demonstrates that even a stylized drill and practice session, paced by means of a phonograph, must incorporate the basic structural elements of all lessons. It is 10:33 a.m. on a morning in November, and the protocol for Mrs. N's observation reads:

TIME 1. BEGINNING DEMARCATION	The children have come in from recess and sit down at their tables. They have pencils in their hands and paper in front of them.
TIME 2. OPENING	Mrs. N says, "Number your papers from 1 to 25."
Disruption	"Lucy, don't you go to reading now? Janice, Mrs. Travis will work with you."
TIME 3. THE LESSON	
Elicitation	Mrs. N has put a math record on which is giving the children math addition problems (6+8=, 7+5=,

	etc.).
Disruption	<Mrs. N says to our observer> "They have to pass adding and subtracting on a timed basis to get out of the their grade, so we use records. They are dictated 4 1/2 seconds apart. Daisy has been here only two weeks so she is having to get used to this."
Elicitation	She repeats the record and says, "You can check and see if you got them all right, and fill in any you did not get.
Extension	Then we will check them." The record tells them to stop and put their pencils down. There are 25 problems.
Elicitation	The record says, "Get set for the answers. Here we go. . . #4 is 11, #5 is 18, etc."
Extension	Mrs. N puts addition problems on the board while they are correcting (56+39, 76+37, 62+78, etc.).
Elicitation	"Now count the right answers and put the number on the top of the page."
Response	"I got them all the first time."
Evaluation	"That's good. That's much better than you used to do."
Elicitation	"Now we will have a three second drill. I will give you three times on the record."
Response	"Oh, Oh," comes from the class.
Extension	"When we finish the addition then we will do the subtraction."
Response	"Oh, Oh, Oh."
Elicitation	"Number 1 to 25 on the other side of the paper. Ready?"
Evaluation	Mrs. N walks around to see how they are doing. Working at this speed has confused many of them and they are doing less well this time. They are being allowed three chances, however, and for some it makes a positive difference.
Elicitation	"Get set for the answers."

Response	"I got them all right!" "I missed only one wrong."
TIME 4. CLOSING	"Put the paper in your desk. Put your crayons in your desk."
TIME 5. ENDING DEMARCATION	Referring to the work Mrs. N has put on the board, one student asks, "Are we going to have to write it all down?" <The class then begins new work based on Mrs. N's board assignment.>

In this drill and practice lesson, as in most such lessons, speed and accuracy are not enough. Students are also closely monitored to insure that they follow proper form — starting and stopping as directed, numbering their answers, checking for errors and recording the results at the top of the page. These students are not only practicing their math, they are also practicing the process of having the quality of their work evaluated and recorded. Such practice prepares them for the fourth type of lesson — the test.

TESTS AS LESSONS*

Generally speaking, the observation protocols written during test episodes are brief and sparse in detail. Despite this brevity, however, test taking is easily recognized as a lesson structure, regularly embodying all but one of the basic elements found in other lessons. The exception is in the evaluation of student responses. This activity is typically postponed until the end of the lesson, and may be delayed for a much longer period. The delay in evaluation is more than offset, however, by its heightened saliency. Students generally recognize that evaluation of their responses is specially important during test lessons.

The following test taking episode, observed in Mrs. A's fourth-fifth grade classroom is typical of this type of lesson.

TIME 1. BEGINNING DEMARCATION	"Fifth graders,
TIME 2. OPENING	we are going to do your spelling test. Charles, pass out the papers, please. Number your papers from 1 to 20. Fourth graders, I'll get to you in a moment."
TIME 3. THE LESSON	
Elicitation	Mrs. A dictates the words, ". . .Number 6 is 'fetch.' He asked his dog to fetch the bone." She dictates the spelling in that fashion. Gives the word and then gives a sentence which contains the word.
Disruption	A child enters the room and hands Mrs. A a note. "OK, get your stuff," she responds. The

	child gets her things and leaves the room.
Response	After the last word a child raises his hand.
Elicitation	"Charles?"
Response	Charles asks Mrs. A, "May I collect the papers?"
Extension	Mrs. A responds, "Not yet. Let's see if there are any questions."
Elicitation	She allows for questions
TIME 4. CLOSING	and then says, "OK, Charles, you can collect the papers now."
TIME 5. ENDING DEMARCATION	She then turns to say to the fourth graders, "Fourth graders, get your papers ready."

The examples presented above illustrate the four basic lesson structure types (teacher-led verbal, activity, drill and practice, and tests). As these examples suggest, the typical lesson in each type involves a sequence of five structural elements. The five elements — beginning demarcation, opening, lesson proper, closing, and ending demarcation — define the classroom culture and provide meaningful ways for students and teachers to interact within it. In this way, lessons create classroom incentive systems. At the organizational level they embody the purposive character of classroom participation. And at the group process level they provide the basic vehicles for creating group membership or solidarity.

In addition to identifying the basic structural components of all lessons, the samples presented above indicate that lesson structures are frequently complicated by the presence of disruptions and extensions. Internal or external disruptions threaten the integrity of the lesson, while extensions elaborate, enhance, re-direct or re-organize its core sequence of teacher-pupil interactions.

Of course, in asserting that the archetypical lesson contains each of the five basic structural elements (often modified by distruption and/or extension), we do not mean to suggest that all teachers always succeed in incorporating each element. To the contrary, we found that lessons are frequently deficient in one or more structural element. By looking at the data from our teachers, however, it can easily be seen that these deviations from the archetypical form threaten the integrity of the lesson and thus weaken the classroom culture. Generally this weakness encourages student disruptions and confronts teachers with disciplinary problems which otherwise would not arise.

BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE LESSON STRUCTURE

In the next few pages we examine in greater detail the form and function of each element in the lesson structure. By looking at both successful and unsuccessful examples it is possible to see what contribution each element makes to the classroom culture and to recognize the alternative forms of each.

BEGINNING DEMARCATIONS

One nearly universal characteristic of the school which is often remarked upon by visitors is the tolling or ringing of bells. In order to signal the start of the school day a bell is rung across the campus. Hearing the bell alerts everyone that the school day has begun. Regular participants in the school rarely remark on it. Their usual response is simply to move to the appropriate work place. If they ignore the sound of the bell, however, the school routine is generally disrupted. If groups fail to respond to the bell it signals a serious breakdown in the social system of the school. If individual children fail to respond they are viewed as being personally deviant and in need of correction.

The bell is the ultimate example of a demarcation ritual — signaling the start of something different. It says, "We are now in school." or "It's time to change activities." Demarcation takes many other forms beside the ringing of bells. Physical movement from one location to another by either the teacher or the students is often used to separate lessons. Changing books (e.g. from a math book to a speller) serves a similar function. In Mrs. A's testing lesson, described above, demarcation was reduced to two words. When she said "Fifth graders" she signaled the onset of the lesson and focused their attention on upcoming activities.

Normally, demarcation periods are short. They serve only as transitional phases. Since demarcations produce no instruction they are more effective when they are highly ritualized and non-verbal. The following are examples of effective demarcation rituals.

In Mr. D's second grade class, following the Pledge to the Flag:

> "Don't get any books. We are going to get into our groups.

In Mrs. B's fifth-sixth grade room:

> Mrs. B writes on the blackboard: "If you are reading this do the following: 1. Tidy Up! 2. Get things out for U.S.S.R. 3. Heads down!" Those who look to see what she is writing follow the directions immediately. Those still deeply immersed in their work do not but they are soon nudged by their classmates.

In Mrs. G's kindergarten class:

> "Now let's see who is sitting up nice and straight before we have the musical instruments." <Observer: You could hear a pin drop now.>

In Mrs. I's fifth grade room:

> A student passed out work sheets to the class while Mrs. I talked. Mrs. I is now writing on the board and the children have moved around to various parts of the room. They are moving into work and reading groups.

As these examples suggest, a beginning demarcation serves two basic functions. It synchronizes students' behavior and focuses their attention on the upcoming lesson.

Not all demarcation rituals succeed in performing these two functions. Every teacher occasionally fails to get some students to attend to the demarcation ritual. When that happens the missed students generally do not fully engage in the lesson and tend to become disruptive. A good example of this was seen in Mrs. L's classroom:

Attempted Demarcation	Lunch is over. The children return to the room. Mrs. L stands in the front of the room. She has written material on the board.
Attempted Opening	"All right, children, we have one of our states on the board. We will read it and then copy it. We will have just enough time to do it before we go home." Some children are still outside eating their ice cream. Mrs. L herds them into the room.
New Demarcation	"Everyone sit down."
	<Two further disruptions occur.>
	<After several minutes> The class begins to discuss the information that Mrs. L has written on the board.

Sometimes, teachers succeed in synchronizing children's behavior but are not able to direct their attention to the lesson because the demarcation ritual is flawed. Mrs. N. illustrates this in the following episode.

> The children are returning to the classroom from recess period. "Lay your heads down." Mrs. N turns off the lights. There's a bit of small talk going on. "Barton, is that your voice I hear?" Another student responds, "Barton is crying, teacher." Duane, another student, was hurt at recess. His classmates are concerned and curious. Mrs. N. says: "Mr. Q is taking care of it. We don't need to be concerned." She did not try to find out why Barton was crying. "Shh." The children haven't quite quieted down and she says "Shh" a number of times. She is talking about ordinal numbers today. "I want ten good citizens at the board."

When starting demarcations are unsuccessful lessons are postponed or abandoned altogether. When ritualization is inadequate teachers must spend valuable time gaining students' attention with elaborate, self-conscious but non-instructional activities.

LESSON OPENINGS

The second structural element in a lesson is the opening. As noted earlier, openings orient students to the lesson proper by providing needed information or giving directions. The information and directions provided serve any or all of three distinct functions. First, they can orient students to the subject matter to be covered and procedures to be used in presenting the lesson. For example, when Mrs N says,

> Let's look up here at the board. We are going to do some alphabetizing.

she is both directing and informing the students about the lesson procedures.

A second function often served by the opening is to inform the students about how they are to respond during the lesson proper. Mrs. J illustrates this when she opens an activity lesson with:

> Center 2, you have been working on your squirrels and some of the work is really pretty. You have extra time to get it done today. Use your heads and think. Don't do just as your neighbor does.

So does Mrs. L when she says,

> All right children, we have one of our states on the board. We read it and then copy it.

The third function served by the information and directions provided in the opening is to let the students know the basis on which their responses will be evaluated once the lesson is under way. This was being done, for example, when Mrs. B opens a math lesson with,

> Not only will you be graded on the right answers, but you will be graded on getting right letters in this name. <Sometimes> you get the right answers but you don't get the letters in the right place.

If both the starting demarcation and the lesson opening have been successful, children disappear as individuals with unique needs, meaning systems and ways of acting. They then reappear in the teacher's perceptual field as students — playing a prescribed role in which their every action can be interpreted as an indication of whether or not they are successfully learning the lesson which is being taught. Once the lesson proper begins, teachers find individual student needs or demands for attention to be disruptive. They look upon any failure of the student to understand what is called for or to respond correctly in both form and content to be either a sign of non-learning or of disengagement from the lesson.

THE LESSON PROPER

As suggested earlier the lesson proper consists of one or more complete interaction sequences involving teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation of that response. Each of the three elements in this sequence appears in a variety of forms.

-The Elicitation-

Mehan (1979) identifies four types of elicitations in the teacher-led lessons: choice, product, process and meta-process. Our data reveal that teachers regularly elicit at least two additional types of students responses: curiosity and confirmation of the behavior of other students. The following are examples of each of these six types of teacher elicitations.

First, there is the choice elicitation — a request by the teacher for students to agree or disagree with a statement, or pick the right answer from among several options presented to them. This was exemplified in Mr. E's protocol:

Choice Elicitation: Mr. E: "In the first ten words you are looking for words with the 'ch' sound. What is this sound called? We had it this morning in spelling. It is a diagraph."

Student Choice Reply: Observer: Mr. E reads the words out loud. They say "Yes" or "No" to each word. Some do have the 'ch' and some do not.

Mr. E's evaluation in this instance took a novel turn:

Teacher Evaluation: Observer: He goes over words #11 to 20. At #17, he gave them a nonsense word. They said "No" and then looked at him as if he was crazy. Mr. E said, "No, you are right. That is not a word and it is not there in the list."

Mehan's second type of elicitation is a "product" elicitation. This is when a factual response (such as a name, place, date, color or other information item) is sought from the student. For example, in Mr. E's morning lesson:

Product Elicitation: Mr. E: "If you want to show real emphasis, what mark do you use?"

Students Respond: "An exclamation point."

In this case, Mr. E's evaluation was non-verbal -- he merely went on with the lesson while nodding approval of the response.

A process elicitation, as described by Mehan, asks for respondents' opinions or interpretations about the form of the lesson:

Process Elicitation:	Mr. E: "How many people think they understand what we have been doing?"
Student Response:	Observer: Most think they do.
Teacher Evaluation:	Mr. E: "I will give you the assignment and will let you see if you do. If you have any problem, come running up and I will give you help.

Mehan gave the name "meta-process" to those elicitations which ask for the students to describe the basis for previous responses or the grounds of their reasoning. For example:

Product Elicitation:	Mr. E: "Do not look at your book. What does this word sound like?
Response:	Observer: The students respond, "Peak."
Meta-process Elicitation:	Mr. E: "How do you know that?"
Response:	Observer: A student answers, "It has a long vowel sound."
Teacher Evaluation:	Mr. E: "You guys did very well on that. Very well."

Among the teachers we observed, we found frequent use of elicitations aimed at getting students fully engaged in the lesson. These elicitations, frequently non-verbal, arise through activities or events within the classroom. We came to call these "curiosity elicitations". In Mrs. G's room, for example, one child, whose father works in a dental lab, is encouraged to share a set of laboratory teeth with the class. The other children, intrigued by the realism and variety of the teeth, ask: "Where did you get them?", "Are they real?", and "Do we only get one?". Another example comes from Mr. E's class where children are encouraged to express and explore their curiosity about election processes and meanings as they undertake to hold a mock election coinciding with the national election.

The last of the six basic types of elicitations found in our data arises when teachers ask children to judge each other's activities or previous responses. Mrs. H, for example, elicits confirmation in a reading lesson when, after asking a child to take a word from a word chart, she says,

Product Elicitation:	"You look at it and tell us what you think it is. Then you put it back into the chart. You may choose any word you like." Observer: The first child takes a word and tells the class what it is.
Student Response:	"It is tied."
Confirmation Elicitation:	Mrs. H says, "See if everyone agrees." To a particular child, "Do you agree with her?"
Confirming Student Response:	"Yes."
Teacher Evaluation:	"Alright, you can put it back in the chart."
Product Elicitation:	To another child, who has taken a second word, "You tell us what you think it is."
Student Response:	The child responds.
Confirmation Elicitation:	Mrs. H, "Is she right?"
Confirming Student Response:	"Yes."
Product Elicitation:	To another student, "It is now your turn to choose."
Student Response:	"Duck."
Confirmation Elicitation:	"You show it and see if they agree."
Confirming Student Response:	The child does so. The class indicates agreement.
Teacher Evaluation:	"That's right? No, I don't think it is."
Confirmation Elicitation:	"Look at it again."
Corrective Student Response:	Students say, "Look."

Teacher Evaluation: "That's right. I get to hold that word."

Teachers differ substantially in the frequency and clarity with which they use the six different types of elicitations. Our data confirm Mehan's finding that there is a correspondence between the types of elicitations used and the types of responses made. This means that, as Mehan puts it, "Particular replies follow particular kinds of initiation with great regularity." In the conduct of lessons this is important because the responses of students must remain faithful to the teacher's elicitations in order for the lesson presentation to move forward.

Mr. E used a large number of product elicitations during our observation of his class:

> "What is it?"
>
> "I want you to give me a sentence using the words."
>
> "What does that end in?"
>
> "If you want to show real emphasis, what mark do you use?"

are typical examples of this elicitation style.

Mr. E also used a fairly large number of meta-process elicitations, such as:

> "How do you find out what it means?"
>
> "How do you know that?"

The behavior between students and teachers is reciprocal and unidirectional. That is, teachers and students exchange elicitations and responses on a relatively equal basis and the sequence of their exchanges moves forward from its starting point toward a conclusion. Any failure, by either the teacher or the student, to adhere to the reciprocal sequence and the unidirectional flow jeopardizes the quality of the relationship and the conduct of the lesson. Note, for example, the following entry in Mr. E's protocol:

> Observer: Mr. E is standing at the blackboard . . . he turns and writes a name on his "uncool" list. Mr. E: "It is very important when we are doing math that it is all you are doing. When I am explaining a concept, I need your complete attention or you will miss something. Then it fouls you up and I have to spend extra time trying to straighten you out. And that takes away from everybody."

-Responses-

As with teacher elicitations, student responses fall into distinct categories. Some times teachers elicit responses from the whole class, sometimes they pick out particular children. When the whole class is elicited, the teachers may be satisfied with a response from a single child who "represents" the class in responding or they may expect every student to make the required response. When individual children are being elicited, the teachers may let any child who is ready respond, they may identify a specific child by by name (nomination) or they may invite all children to "bid" for an opportunity to respond (usually by raising their hands).

Mehan (1979) refers to the response system as the "turn-allocation" machinery of the classroom. By this he means that the interaction is sequential — the teacher elicits, students respond, the teacher evaluates, and the process begins again with the teacher eliciting. The sequence specifies both the nature of the responses which teachers are seeking and the population of students who are to reply to any particular elicitation.

Mr. E's protocols provide examples of virtually all of the important variations in the allocation of student responses. He begins with an elicitation aimed at the whole class:

All Students Elicited:	Mr. E: "I want everyone to put their finger on the first word. Look at it and then look away. . . What is it?"
All respond:	Observer: The class responds, "SH".

In the same lesson, Mr. E also utilizes elicitations in which students are identified by nomination (names), by an invitations to bid, and by invitations to reply without first being recognized:

Invitation to Reply:	Mr. E: "These have a long vowel sound. What is it?"
Individual Replies:	Observer: A child answers, "EA, the E is long."
Invitation to Bid:	Mr. E: "What is the first sound in elephant'? Let's see some raised hands--bunches and bunches"
	Observer: The children smiled when he said that.
Shift to Group Turns:	Mr. E: "Okay, everybody."
	Observer: They respond in unison.
Nomination for a Turn:	Mr. E: "Would you like to read the directions, Cordell?"
	Observer: Cordell reads them.

Students gradually learn to master this process. When students first attend school, their skills in lesson participation are absent or very minimally developed. Through time and practice their skills develop so that their classroom participation is expected to increase in both quality and quantity.

Students learn the process by having their infractions corrected. The most common infractions which occur in classrooms are content with out form and form without content responses to teacher elicitations. When students present content without form, they are giving correct responses at the wrong time or in the wrong way. Form without content means giving erroneous responses to teacher elicitations, but giving them within the expected form and at the proper time (Mehan, 1979:136-7).

Student contributions are incorporated into the course of the lesson in three different ways. First, students may "get the floor." That is, they may complete an interaction sequence already in progress within the lesson. This usually involves an immediate response to the instructional topic. As illustrated above, students help fulfill the intent of an on-going lesson by this mode of participation.

The second way in which students contribute is by "holding the floor." In this instance, students pick up on the on-going lesson, but extend it by adding something new to the discussion. The timing in this case is critical. An example from Mr. E's protocol (coming right after the "first sound in elephant" interaction sequence):

> Observer: Jim brings up his dictionary and shows Mr. E a page.
>
> Mr. E: "Remember yesterday we talked about the pronunciation key at the front of the dictionary. Well, in Jim's dictionary it is at the bottom of each page."
>
> Observer: Jim returns to his seat.

The third way in which students contribute is by "introducing news." This is when students make original contributions. This type of contribution is most likely in more advanced classrooms. A critical component of this is that the original contribution be acknowledged by the class. This serves to reinforce the contributor, and also to facilitate further class discussion. Indirectly, this would also contribute to motivating other members of the class to make their own original contributions. Our data indicate that this type of student contribution is rare. The factors which inhibit it include: limited teacher competence, student maturity, student body composition, and topic.

-Evaluation-

The third element in the lesson proper is the teacher's evaluations of student responses. These evaluations serve to reflexively link student responses to the teachers' original elicitations by declaring them to be appropriate or inappropriate to the lesson. Evaluations may be either procedural or substantive in content and they may be either rational or moral in tone.

Procedural evaluations focus on whether student responses are given at the proper time and in the proper form. Substantive evaluations declare whether the content of student responses fits the teacher's expectations.

Generally speaking, teacher evaluations are very brief and frequently non-verbal. A smile, a nod, "Right", "OK", "Beautiful", "Great", these are the basic tools of positive evaluation. Frowns, "Are you sure?", "Look at that again", "Someone help her/him?" are the most frequent negative evaluation tools. Activity lessons tend to call for more elaborate evaluations, like Mrs. G's, "You have cut too much. I will get you another one.", to a kindergartener making a Santa Claus figure.

Moral evaluations are generally used to reinforce the propriety of the lesson structure or the rule structure of the school. Hence moral evaluations tend to be focused on children's procedural compliance. Children easily attach moral overtones to their substantive work as well, however. Notice, for example, how moral self-evaluation by one child is handled by Mrs. G.

> Nina begins to cry. "I just messed up", she says. Mrs. G says to her, "I don't want you to worry about that, that is what you have an eraser for. I am glad you can see your mistakes."

Teachers sometimes capitalize on this tendency for students to respond to moral evaluation of the content of their work. For example, at one point Mrs. O,

> looks at the work of the girl sitting near her desk. "That is beautiful, little girl. Really beautiful." Mrs. O's voice changes as she says this — she is really pleased with what she sees.

Sometime later, however, we see that,

> a child has spent a great deal of work on a drawing. She shows it to Mrs. O. "That would have been beautiful if you had not put that scrawly printing at the top of it." The child sits down and her smile is no longer on her face.

The use of moral evaluations to control student behavior is described in more detail in Chapter V. The point being made here is that moral evaluations can be effectively directed toward either procedural or substantive student responses.

CLOSING THE LESSON

Unless the classroom is disrupted, or the teacher is deficient, lessons do not just end. They are brought to a close by specific forms of teacher behavior (usually a fairly brief soliloquy). Mehan (1979:46) suggests that the closing of a lesson is "a mirror image of its opening." His conclusion is supported in our data in the sense that closings, like openings, are either directive or informative in character. The closings serve a different function, however. They typically refer to the content and procedures of the lesson proper in order to either summarize the work which has been done or assign future work on some lesson objectives.

Mrs. A executes a typical closing when, following a test lesson in which students exchange papers, she says,

> "Stewart, have you got your score? Will you collect the papers?" Mrs. A then says, "Starting tomorrow you are going to get a mixed drill with your times tables — a five minute drill."

Mrs. G closes an activity lesson with,

> "When you are finished please come up to the rug and sit down so I can give you your jobs." She sits down in a little chair at the front of the room. "Good", she says to two boys and six girls ready for their jobs.

And Mrs. I gives the following closing soliloquy at the end of a drill and practice lesson — she has just finished writing on the board, begins walking around the room and says,

> "Study your multiplication tables. Remember, we are going to take a test on them. It is going to be a timed test. Your knowledge has to be all up here <pointing to her head>. It is going to be a five minute timed test. And as long as you are with me you are going to be at the top."

These lesson closings serve two basic functions. They underscore the role of the lesson in moving children toward the goals of schooling (i.e. toward achievement or development) and they bring to consciousness the activities and behavioral norms viewed by the teacher as leading to these goals. Thus, closings serve a vital function in articulating and legitimating the classroom culture.

ENDING DEMARCATIONS

After the teacher closes the lesson, it is still necessary for students to be ritually released from their obligation to follow the behavioral rules implicit in the lesson proper. These ending demarcation rituals, like the starting ones, very often involve physical movement. In a typical form of this controlled release from the lesson, Mrs. G ends a craft activity lesson when she,

> sounds a chord on the piano. "Will you all stop please. Stand still. The boys and girls in Mrs. N. . . . .'s class have to leave us now. Put your things away and line up at the door." They do, and then Mrs. G says, "Thank you for coming." and they leave.

Mr. K demonstrates the vulnerability of these ending rituals to disruption when he executes the following lesson closing and ending demarcation:

> "Put your papers away, we're going to try to get ready for lunch." A student walks over with lunch tickets. The students start to walk around, talk and slam their desk tops. Mr. K asks them to look around their desks in order to clean up. The students pick up their lunches. Some talk, others walk around and the room gets noisy again. "We'll see who's going to be ready to go for lunch. Maybe, no one will go. . . David's row can go now." The bell rings. "Manuel's row. . ." They walk out as they're called.

WORK ORIENTATIONS AND LESSON STRUCTURE

The foregoing discussion has examined the basic structural elements in all successful lessons. We turn now to a brief exploration of the ways in which the teacher work orientations described in Chapter III serve to shape the utilization of these universal lesson structures. As indicated in Chapter III, the fifteen teachers in our sample fall into four distinct groups (master teachers, instructors, coaches, and helpers) based on their organization-level (purposive) and group-level (solidary) incentive orientations.

Individual teachers enact work roles consistent with the incentive orientations they have adopted. As they enact these roles they tend to give greater attention to certain structural features of their lessons and to emphasize particular forms of each structural element. Analysis of a typical lesson found in the data from each teacher group will help to clarify the linkages between work orientations and lesson structures.

THE MASTER TEACHERS

The two most prominent features of the lessons taught by the master teachers (Mrs. A, Mrs B, and Mrs. C) are their elaborate complexity and their emphasis on procedural evaluation of students. The lessons found in Mrs. B's protocols illustrate this quite clearly. The following example of a math lesson occupied approximately 45 minutes (form 10:45 to 11:30 a.m.). She begins with her typically terse and precise demarcation and launches immediately into an opening soliloquy aimed at reinforcing procedural expectations:

> "We have the Black American Puzzles. I will work a couple with you and then we will work them after lunch. What is the first thing we do in this classroom?" Students respond, "Put your first and last name on your paper."

Since the demarcation is successful and complete with the uttering of her first sentence, Mrs. B has no need to use the physical process of passing out the puzzles to synchronize student behavior or focus their attention. Consequently, she has time for a mini-lesson on body language which takes place entirely within the time required to pass out the math puzzles. With students already geared for a lesson, she needs no demarcation ritual and thus goes directly to the lesson proper, eliciting student responses with the question:

> "Why is body language so important?" A student responds, "It could make a difference when we are trying to get a job, or you can tell what we are thinking." Mrs. B, "Your body language communicates to me your attitude. In this classroom we strive to be flexible and positive and your body language tells me what you are thinking."

As typical of the master teachers, Mrs. B has reversed the opening and the elicitation phases of this lesson. She elicits a response first and then adds the lesson opening to her evaluative response. Her homily on body language instructs, but only after students have already been invited to respond.

A major part of the opening phase of the main lesson has been postponed until the end of this mini-lesson on body language. The protocol reports,

> Having completed passing out the papers, Mrs. B says, "Not only will you be graded on the right answers but you will be graded on the right letters in each name. You sometimes get the right math answers but you don't get the letters in the right place."
>
> "I will work with you on letter 'A'. Pencils down. I really need your attention now."

Note that Mrs. B has recognized that the physical activity of passing out papers and the mini-lesson on body language have endangered the success of her opening demarcation. Hence she reinforces with, "I really need your attention now."

Her next step was to engage one student as her partner in eliciting other student responses. She,

> asks Carlton to go to the board and she does the problem with Carlton. She has Carlton explain everything he is doing. "Carlton, you did a beautiful job explaining that."

Typical of the master teachers, Mrs. B publicly evaluates Carlton procedurally rather than substantively. She is most intensely concerned that the other students learn the form of expected responses. She extends this immediately by saying,

> "Boys and girls, I want you to do your best work. I want you to show your work the way Carlton did."
>
> 10:55 a.m. "You should work at your own speed. If you get finished I have some more at this table here for you to do. Some of you will only do one, some will do three or four. We will be sure to correct puzzle #25 after silent reading this afternoon."

Now Mrs. B is ready for all students to begin responding; confident that they will be trying to produce in exactly the right form. Hence the protocol reports,

> Mrs. B then begins to walk around the room, checking to see how the students are doing. "You know this breaks my heart. Your first set of instructions was to put you name on your paper and I am afraid to look. And what about talking?" "We are to whisper." "And if I can hear you, is that whispering?" "No."

She is immediately disappointed — not by wrong answers, but by wrong procedures. And she evaluates the students immediately, eliciting confirmation that they now know what is required. Having done this, Mrs. B retires to her desk and,

> 11:05 a.m. Some of the students come up to Mrs. B and ask questions. Mrs. B is checking math packets while they are working on the math puzzles. Then she gets up and asks, "Is there anyone who is stuck on one and would like me to work it out?" A student wants help with letter 'M'. She and the student do it on the board.

She recognizes that retiring from the lesson has endangered group solidarity and the dedication to mission needed to keep the lesson intact. Thus, she returns to elicit active responses from students once again.

The lesson is then disrupted by the return of some children from a special "pull-out" program. Mrs. B is faced with the task of integrating these newcomers into an ongoing lesson. The protocol reports,

> 11:17 a.m. The children return from the E.S.A.A. lab. Mrs. B, who has been working on the math packets at her desk, stands up. "You know I really like the way Dwight came back from the E.S.A.A. lab, sat right down, and started to work."
>
> "Puzzle #25 we will be doing after silent reading this afternoon, and the others we will do later on. . . .Is there anyone besides Laura who did not get puzzle #25?"

A second disruption occurs three minutes later when students who work in the cafeteria must leave to perform their duties. Mrs. B handles this with,

> 11:20 a.m. "Cafeteria workers, get your silent reading things out and get ready to go to work." They do and then line up. Mrs. B goes to the door, opens it, and they leave.

Finally, the lesson period draws to a close as Mrs. B needs to take a few minutes before the lunch hour to deal with non-instructional matters.

> 11:25 a.m. Mrs. B surveys the room. The aide is helping one child with her math. "OK, boys and girls, we only have a few minutes left before lunch time and we have a very important matter. Leave your math and silent reading on the corner of your desk and put everything else away. Have your silent reading ready for after lunch. Pencils put away. Math papers to the corner of your desk." "Mrs. B will talk about the next item on the agenda when everyone has followed directions."

From beginning to end, Mrs. B insists on strict adherence to procedural expectations. The substantive content of the lesson is generally embodied in the materials and in responses to student queries -- not in information Mrs. B presents directly. Mrs. B, like the other master teachers, clearly believes that the best way for children to learn is for them to engage curricular materials and to ask for help when they need it. Her concentration is on getting this engagement organized in such a way that she can quickly and easily tell which students need her help.

THE INSTRUCTORS

Mr. D, Mr. E, and Ms. F constitute the group we have called "instructors." They are strongly oriented toward the production of achievement through the teaching of lessons. Their work orientation leads them to elaborate the opening phase of most lessons and to focus their evaluations on the substantive content rather than the procedural propriety of student responses. Mr. E provides the following example of a typical instructor's lesson. Like the master teachers, the instructors tend to have short, precise starting demarcation rituals. Mr. E begins with:

> "I will take 'Inside Out' back here and the 'Lizards' will go outside."

As soon as the group is assembled, Mr. E gives a very brief opening and plunges into a long elicitation and response sequence, during which most of the student responses were inaudible to our observer who was seated across the room from the student group.

> To the reading group that Mr. E is working with, "I have a list of words we need to go over."
>
> 1. Island. "What does it mean? How do you spell it? What two words make up this word?"
>
> 2. Dragon. "Where do dragons usually live? We were talking about dragons in history the other day — where were they then? Who was the sailor who was not afraid of dragons? How do you spell it? What are the two words in dragon?" Students respond to these questions, but it is difficult to hear their answers distinctly.
>
> 3. Neither. "The long 'e' and silent vowel partner coming

> behind it."
>
> 4. Minute.
>
> 5. Fierce. "Let's all spell it together."
>
> 6. Creature. "What is a creature? Name some creatures for me. I saw dozens of creatures the other day (Halloween). Think about Halloween." A student tells what happened on Halloween. "We went trick or treating and then we went to Long John Silver's to get something to eat. A guy came in dressed like the K.K.K. with a shot gun. Everyone got a little nervous and my aunt did not want to stay there, but the manager came over and told her they were going to get him out of there. And they did."
>
> 7. Moment.
>
> 8. Giraffe. "That is a tricky one and I will spell it and then we will spell it together."

Mr. E extends the lesson — moving from discussion to oral reading, saying,

> "Now we will read. If some one has trouble with a word, don't help them out. Let them work it out by themselves so they can learn the word."

Typical of the instructors, Mr. E vigorously pursues the class after each reading segment, eliciting information and meta-process reflections from numerous students. The protocol reports,

> "What kind of job did Maria's father have?" "He was a fisherman." "Where did they live?" "On an island." "Does anyone know where the West Indies are?" No one did, and Mr. E gave them a short geography lesson so they would know.
>
> The next child reads. "How many of you lay in bed and listen to the sounds? What do you hear? When you are home alone, you always hear all kinds of weird sounds. Why do people always run to bed and pull the covers up over their heads? Does it make you feel safe?" There was a "yes" response in unison. "It makes me feel safe too."
>
> The next child reads. "How does the ocean sing? What is the title of this story? Everybody. Why do you think she is lonely?" "No brothers or sisters." "She lives on an island." "No friends on the island."
>
> The next child reads. "Why was she growing tired of the game she was playing? With other people you can change

> the game a little." Benton tells the group that he plays 'poison' differently when he plays with some of his friends.
>
> The next child reads. A boy began to help Theresa, realized it and covered his mouth.
>
> The next child reads. She got stuck. No one said anything and she figured the word out by herself. "What is Maria using?" "Her imagination."
>
> The next child reads. "That is a hard word. It is Spanish, 'blanca.' They pronounce their vowels differently."

As indicated in this extended sequence, Mr. E tends to use open-ended elicitations, seeking whole group or bidding responses from students. If no responses are forthcoming, he tends to extend the lesson with brief homilies on the subject at hand. Mr. E, like the other instructors, appears to believe that lessons are group events — if any student responds, he is able to move on without becoming overly concerned that each individual student is getting all of the information being presented.

Instructors tend to have very brief closings, such as:

> "We will start here tomorrow. Get out your Skilpaks and finish up." One child says, "We did get it finished up." "OK then, you can work on your homework for the last 10 minutes."

One reason for this brevity is that the instructors tend to be successful in setting a businesslike tone in the classroom and, therefore, tend not to feel the need to either justify or elaborate on their classroom norms and requirements.

There is no clear ending demarcation for this lesson. As the protocol reports, children tend to remain within the framework of the instructor's lesson structure even after it has formally ended.

> There are very few children in the room right now. Some are still with Mrs. Martin (a specialist), some are with the aide outside, and some are at music. Mr E's reading group has gone to work on either their homework or their Skilpaks (a few did not have them finished). They are all working, some together, some separately.

THE COACHES

Our third group of teachers — the coaches — view the school as an agency of child nurture rather than achievement, yet view the teaching of lessons as the primary means of pursuing this goal. This leads the coaches to be much more concerned about the attitudes students display toward their school work than either the master teachers or the instructors. As a result, the coaches tend to open and close their lessons differently, to elicit a broader array of student responses, and to offer moral as well as substantive evaluation responses.

Mrs. I is representative of this group. The following lesson is taken from her protocol.

Typical of the coaches (and the helpers described below), Mrs. I opens her lesson by asking to look at students' homework assignments. The demarcation for this lesson is quite unusual. Mrs. I has two students who have gotten into a fight. They have gone outside the classroom to try to talk out their differences with the aide. Mrs. I asks the class to get out their homework "while you wait" for the trio to return. Thus when the two students return to class, indirect entry to the lesson has already occurred. We pick up the protocol just after the aide has explained that the warring parties have declared a truce. Looking at homework papers, Mrs. I says to one student,

> "Is that an incomplete paper?" She asks the same question of some others. They speak to her quietly. "Did you make an attempt to take this book out, or did you just play?"
>
> "I forgot to bring my violin, guys. Most of us associate a violin with smooth, slow music. But I could play sad little tunes on it for your sad excuses." (She mimics the motions of a violin player.) Some of the students have just not done the assigned work. "Maybe you two just gave up. You are not being fair to yourselves. I will just close the book and play all weekend and come in on Monday and give Mrs. I an excuse."

Mrs. I's moral extensions are actually more important to her than whether the students have achieved mathematically. She goes on,

> "What was the solution I told you last week? I tried explaining why homework was important. I feel a little bit of homework is not going to hurt anyone. I give you only 20 minutes and I even give you some time in class. You are now 5th graders. I push and pull and with some of you, you are doing it. You people that put in the effort, you will excel and get ahead."

Typical of the coaches, Mrs. I sees that the real lesson of homework lies in its contributions to character and self-discipline.

Next, Mrs. I extends the lesson by giving what might have been the originally intended directive opening. She begins by giving answers to the problems. Then,

> She explains that 'N' or 'X' is a symbol for the answer.
>
> "If you have the incorrect answer, don't erase, just put the correct answer alongside it. You don't have time to erase."

Mrs. I's lesson suffers an internal disruption because a child who normally is out of the room for special instruction at 11:00 a.m. is back in the class this day. She takes time out of the lesson to assign this child to the aide for special attention. Within a few minutes she is back to the lesson. Now reinforcing the substantive opening and refocusing the class's attention she,

> writes two words on the board. "When you see this word 'sum', what do they want you to do?" The class responds, "Add." "When you see this word 'difference', what do you do?" "Subtract" "To find the difference, you subtract. To make it a challenge, they put the 'N' in there."

Note that she uses emotional, rather than cognitive, language to describe the substitution of letters for numbers in this pre-algebra exercise. She calls the process a "challenge" rather than a new way of formulating numerical operations. This is typical of the coaches, who want students to feel excitement and opportunity in school, not just to know facts. She goes on,

> "Remember, I told you we were jumping from here to there, to go through the 5th grade test materials. What is this section?" "Graphs."
>
> "Where do you find graphs?" Various students respond. "The Church of Scientology has a bunch of graphs on the wall." "The blood bank." "The spelling chart." Mrs. I responds to that answer, "Not exactly, but we could graph it." And she shows them how.
>
> "We could also graph the hair colors, the number of boys and girls in the class." "Look at page ??. Oh, I should have you look at the easier ones first." "Yes, let's do the easy ones first. Turn to page ?? first."
>
> "When you look at a graph you have to look at the key first so you know what the graph is telling you. Remember, I will not always get to give you the directions. You will have to read the directions for yourself." The class then goes through a problem about snowmobiles.

Here again, the coach tries to make an experiential linkage and to do "the easy ones first" so as to give students an easier access to the alien world of graphs.

Shortly, however, the flow of this lesson is disrupted when Mrs. I becomes upset with one student who has not been following directions. The protocol reports:

> "Now turn to page 348. This time the key has changed . . . 200 times." "Wayne? Are you with us on page 348? . . . I don't need to see that sassy face. I could track up a ten in comparison with you."

Balancing her frustration, she tries to restore the lesson flow with,

> "I like the way you guys are raising your hands."

The disruption ends as quickly as it began, as the elicitation, response, evaluation cycle continues with,

> "Let's go on to page 349. They have taken away all the pictures. What does this graph work with?" "The subjects of 5th grade students."
>
> "The numbers are going from left to right in a row. The numbers going across indicate what? Pedro?"
>
> "The green bars stand for what?"
>
> "The subject with the greatest number of students?" Everyone wanted to answer that question.

Other disruptions occur, however, as Mrs. I finds herself telling the children they can get sweaters if they wish because it's cold, moving a child who is talking loudly and distracting others, and stopping another child from making a disruptive thumping sound.

Despite elaborate concern with attitudes and social processes, the coaches retain a vital interest in children's learning. Mrs. I concludes this lesson with a test, patterned after the district proficiency test which all her children must pass before being promoted to the sixth grade. Thirty-seven minutes after starting the lesson, Mrs. I starts the closing process by saying,

> "Put your math books away. As soon as you get your paper, put your name and the date on it and go immediately to work. This is not a timed test, so don't rush. Read carefully and work carefully." Mrs. I hands out the papers and they set to work immediately.

Three minutes later, she says,

> "When you finish your math, work on your spelling on p. 29. I will write your homework assignment on the board while you are doing this."
>
> 11:35 a.m. The children are quickly finishing the math paper and they are taking theirs up to Mrs. I's desk. "I see that Dean's ready and so is Tania. They are following directions. Some of us are still taking the test, so let's be considerate and not get noisy."

She finally offers her closing soliloquy as she,

> finishes writing on the board and then begins walking around the room. "Study your multiplication tables. Remember, we

> are going to take a test on them. It is going to be a timed test. Your knowledge has to be all up here (pointing to her head). It is going to be a 5 minute timed test and as long as you are with me you are going to be at the top."

THE HELPERS

Those teachers who are see the school as an agency for nurturing children (while maintaining a classroom process orientation that emphasizes keeping school) enact their work roles as "helpers." The five teachers in this group -- Mr. K, Mrs. L, Mrs. M, Mrs. N, and Mrs. O — displayed the least well structured lessons in the sample. It should be noted, however, that they do attempt to preserve some structure in order to maintain classroom order — an objective which is prominent in their thinking. The classroom cultures created by these teachers are quite different from those found in the other classrooms.

We have called this group of teachers the "helpers" because they view themselves as facilitating child nurturance by assisting students in coping with school program and curriculum demands. The helpers tend to be less well organized in their approach to teaching than the other three groups. This is due, in part at least, to the fact that they feel less competent and less in command of their work roles.

The following lesson, taken from Mrs. N's protocol illustrates the typical pattern of teaching behavior by the helpers. Mrs. N starts with a brief demarcation between the departure of a classroom visitor and the opening of a language arts lesson. She says,

> "Let's look up here at the board."

Note that, typical of the helpers, she speaks in the first person plural, "let's", in an effort to strengthen a social bond with her students.

The opening phase of her lesson is very brief, given the complexity of the events which will be unfolding over the next 25 minutes. She says only,

> "We are going to do some alphabetizing. Let's look at these words and try it."

The lesson proper begins with a series of nominated responses. Mrs. N, typical of the helpers, calls on many different children by name:

> "Are there any 'A' words, Gina?" "Air." "When you put it on your paper you put a #1 by it. Are there any 'B' words, Carlos?" "Boat." "And what do you put beside it on your paper?" "#2." "What about 'C' words, Betty?" "There are two words." "What are they?" "Clean and cream." "What do we do then? Jamey?" "We look at the second letter." Mrs. N continued through the list. "When you are finished you should have 14 words on your list. If you do not have 14 words, you need to check and see what happened."

At this point the lesson is extended and reorganized. The students are broken up into groups and there is a transition period while Mrs. N passes out papers and directs children to their groups. We pick up the protocol as,

> Mrs. N is working at the blackboard with her group. They are going over some words on the board. "What kinds of shoes do we have?" Children give a list of various kinds of shoes. "What kind of leather do we have? Does all leather feel soft?" One child says, "Some leather feels hard."

A brief disruption is handled and the lesson is extended to include oral reading.

> A child, not in the group says, "Teacher, Raul is talking to me." "Raul. You know better."
>
> "Now we will read the sentences on the board. Arnold?" He reads the sentence. Another boy reads the second sentence. "Which one could really happen? Frank?" "The second one." They do the same thing with another set of sentences. "We could imagine the first sentence, but we could not do it."

Again, individual nomination is the prevalent turn allocation mechanism — typical of the personalistic style of the helpers.

A brief period of total group elicitation follows, and the lesson is again extended as children are asked to turn to prepared "Skilpak" curriculum materials.

> "What about the test I took?", a child asks, "I did not pass it." Mrs. N responds, "Mrs. n. . . (the aide) will work with you on Monday."

Notice, again, the ease with which this lesson is interrupted by children expressing special needs. Mrs. N tries to give attention to individual children while simultaneously directing the activities of the entire group. She is not always successful, however.

Mrs. N ends her active involvement with this small-group lesson by saying,

> "When you finish this you will begin your alphabetizing."

She returns to the group after briefly attending to the needs of another child. She checks on their progress and then executes an ending demarcation for them and a starting demarcation for another group by asking,

> "Those of you in 'The Dog Next Door', would you come up quietly?"

The most prominent features of the helpers' lesson structures are their lack of clarity and precision in the openings, closings, and demarcation rituals.

These teachers apparently feel that classroom cultural norms are self-generating and do not need ritualization or explicit articulation. The result is high vulnerability to disruption as children do not segment their personal needs and interests from the lessons and do not "get down to business." The helpers respond to this vulnerability and consequent high noise level in two ways. First, they personalize interactions with the children, trying to engage them one-by-one in the lesson process. Secondly, they rely on curriculum packages, workbooks, and other structured learning activities to give continuity and direction to the lesson, rather than imposing their own demands and directions on the students. The typical result is a low level of student engagement and high rates of classroom disruption.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have examined how teachers engage in their fundamental work responsibility — teaching lessons. We have noted that there are five basic structural elements in all successful lessons and that the lesson proper is characterized by a reflexive sequence of teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation. This sequential structure can expand beyond the original lesson objectives or re-direct the focus of the lesson through the incorporation of teacher "extensions" which are in form and function like the original lesson opening.

We examined typical lessons from our fifteen teachers and concluded that each of the four sub-groups in our sample (the master teachers, instructors, coaches, and helpers) emphasize specific aspects of the lesson structure and tend to rely more on some forms than others within each structural element. In this way classroom cultures come to reflect the work orientations and incentive systems of the teachers who organize them.

CHAPTER V

MANAGING CLASSROOMS:

A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON RULES AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT

Whereas lessons embody the essential purposes toward which classroom cultures are directed, classroom management defines the operational character of these cultures by structuring social relationships among teachers and students and by assigning meanings and values to various classroom activities. Teachers manage their classrooms through the creation, interpretation and enforcement of moral and behavioral rules.

While the fifteen teachers in this study can be classified into four distinct groups with regard to their lesson structures and teaching activities, their divergent approaches to rule formation are best described in terms of a single broad continuum. At one extreme, we found tension laden and chaotic classrooms with unclear and unenforced rules. At the other end of the spectrum were classrooms with well defined and broadly acepted rules — rules so well understood and internalized that overt enforcement was unnecessary. Most classrooms, most of the time, lay somewhere between these extremes. Rules were obvious, reasonably explicit, but support for them was limited and enforcement was problematic.

Problems of classroom management confront teachers the moment they enter the school. Students are initially assigned to them as disparate individuals — representating a wide variety of backgrounds and subcultures. In order to undertake the task of instruction teachers must transform these individuals into a unified group, a cultural unit. They must bind individual students together, organize their behavior and establish a shared frame of reference or common point of view. The capacity to do this depends, primarily, on establishing effective rules which students come to accept as natural, necessary, and meaningful. As Benn and Peters (1959:18) note,

> What we call human society is a number of individuals bound together by . . . an order of normative rules. They behave predictably in relation to one another because of this normative system. These rules define the rights and duties which they have toward one another, the ends which they may pursue, and the ways in which it is legitimate to pursue them.

Social order is possible because human beings have an inherent potential for rule-following. They perform predictably in relation to one another and form what is called a social system, to a large extent, because they accept systems of behavioral rules which are binding on all, yet alterable by human decision.

At the beginning of each school year teachers create classroom order by developing and articulating enforceable rules, rules which seem natural and do not have to be explicitly remembered, rules that specify legitimate activities define both social and academic responsibilities for all students. While the rules in any given classroom may be virtually identical from one year to the next, they must be established anew for each class so that each new group of individual students can be integrated into a cohesive social group.

Data from the teachers in our study show that teachers are not equally successful in creating and maintaining a classroom culture or incorporating students into it. Life in the classrooms we observed ranged from virtual chaos in one room, to rooms with highly visible rules and overt systems of enforcement, to ones which were culturally directed by social norms that needed little interpretation and almost no enforcement.

Interview and observation data obtained from twelve of our fifteen teachers clarify the nature and importance of rule formation and enforcement. The classroom environment of one teacher, Mrs. O, is examined first. It reveals just how fragile the establishment of a classroom culture can be. Her failure to establish and enforce rules or insure regularity in student behavior led to the most chaotic classroom in our sample. Dissatisfied with her classroom experience, and encouraged by her principal to do so, this teacher retired at the end of the year.

Against the background of Mrs. O's extremely weak classroom management, other teachers' efforts become more understandable. Life in most of the other teachers' classrooms includes substantial periods of effective social organization, but some of them do not fully comprehend how classroom cultures are established. In these cases, classrooms are orderly at some times while verging on chaos at others.

Most teachers do understand the necessity of rules and readily articulate them for the students. Frequently, however, their students do not "own" these rules and thus tend to either misunderstand them or obey them only to avoid punishment. When this happens, the students tend to view the rules as arbitrary, capricious or without fundamental purpose.

Even when teachers are successful in formulating rules which are, on the whole, seen as legitimate, there are times when it is necessary for them to use overt power strategies to maintain order.

Kindergarten teachers aplay a special rile in the development of classroom sub-cultures. Among our respondents, Mrs. G illustrates how teachers of the youngest students introduce them to the universal rules of the school and prepare them for the years to come.

Our discussion of classroom management concludes with a look at teachers' responses to the intrusion of the school-wide rule structures into the classroom.

Data from three teachers in our sample are not included in this analysis. The resource specialist (Mrs. C) has been omitted because her work was with individual students rather than with groups during the various observations. Ms F, the aphasic teacher, had a class that was so small (five students, the teacher and the aide) that a true tutorial relationship was possible. In a third class, composed entirely of below grade level students with behavior problems, there were multiple authority figures, including a totally inexperienced teacher (Mrs. M). Attempts at rule formation in this classroom relied heavily on a somewhat confused form of Skinnerian behavior modification -- the hoped for results were constantly in doubt, however.

THE FRAGILE CHARACTER OF CLASSROOM ORDER

In the most chaotic of our classrooms, ostensibly being directed by Mrs. O, it was virtually impossible to discern through either observation or interview data what rules were supposed to exist. If they did exist, it was equally difficult to see how they were being enforced. Shouting, threats, repetition of requests and sending students to the principal appeared to be the most common methods used by this teacher in trying to maintain order.

For example, while Mrs. O's class, like every other class, lined up and waited for her to meet them at the playground, they were often noisy as they walked to the classroom. On one particular morning, as they entered the room and went to their seats, Mrs. O stood at the rear of the room and said:

> "Boys and girls, will you take your seats, please?" A moment passes. " Boys and girls, will you take your seats, please? Boys and girls, will you take your seats, please? I sound like a broken record".

Despite her repeated requests the class was slow to quiet down and get their things organized to begin the day. Over five minutes passed before there was sufficient order to say the Pledge to the Flag.

No group teaching was done during this observation. The teacher spent time searching for pencils for students and telling various ones to stop talking. She actually worked with only two children before the morning recess period. Comments such as these were heard during the morning:

> "Tom, I am going to have to send you out of the room if you don't stop talking. Is that the biggest pencil you have? I will get you a bigger one.
>
> "Nancy, you just get here! Now sit quietly and get to work." Nancy stopped talking with her girl friend and began talking to one of the boys at the table instead.
>
> "We can't have all these people walking around," the aide shouts. Mrs. O responds, "I just told Lynn to sit down a minute ago."

During this period the aide worked with a large reading group. Their work was interrupted when two members of the group started kicking each other. The aide turned to them and said,

> "Jim and Bob, you won't be able to sit back here." Mrs. O then said, "Go back to your seats, please." The boys stayed put, the aide again told them to leave and Mrs. O added,

> "You are to go back to your seats." Jim returned to his regular seat at this point but Bob remained at the table. The aide resumed working with the group but ignored Bob's desire to participate. He did not like this and became annoying again. This caused the aide to say, "Bob, go back to your seat right now. Mrs. O told you to go back to your seat." Bob still did not leave. "Will you get your work done? We have given you another chance." His response was not audible but he remained with the reading group and did the material in his workbook with the rest of the group.

There was only one direct mention of a common classroom rule during the various observations in this classroom — and this was by the aide. Two boys left their seats and walked to the aide to speak to her.

> You are going to have to stay in your seat and raise your hand. If one more person gets out of your seat to tell me you are not sharing the eraser you will have to stay in at recess on a nice day. (Due to inclement weather recess on this particular day would be indoors for everyone).

These boys returned to their seats but other children got up without raising their hands, walked around and no further effort was made to enforce the hand raising rule.

One afternoon Mrs. O decided to read to the class. She announced her intention to do this and asked them to quiet down. However she began reading before she had their complete attention. A number of children continued talking and after a while she stopped reading to say, sarcastically,

> I expect you to disrupt me, Bob. I don't expect you to do anything but disrupt me.

The situation did not get better and Mrs. O finally acknowledged that the class was not involved in the story. She stopped reading, looked at them and angrily stated,

> OK, get your spelling books out please. Get your spelling books out. I'm finished trying to read to you. Come up here, Lynn, to where I told you to sit.

Mrs. O then walked to her desk, got her thermos and returned to the front of the room. She opened it and poured a cup of coffee. She looked around, saw Bob's back and said,

> "Turn around, Bob. I will wait until I see you people are ready to work and then I will go on with your lesson. I will put the page number on the chalkboard."
>
> While the children got out their spelling materials Mrs O wrote "Spelling. Begin on page 48" on the board. Many of them, however, were rather noisy as they got ready, Bob

among them.

> "All right, Bob, You have to go to Mrs. S (the principal). Come here. I am going to write a note. All right, Bob, go to Mrs. S. Leave your pencil, Bob." "It is my pencil." "Give it to me, Bob. GIVE IT TO ME , BOB."

Bob left the room but returned a few minutes later with a note from the principal. Mrs. O walked to her desk, got out note paper and returned to the front of the room. She wrote another note and sent Bob back to the office. Bob returned about seven minutes later, went directly to his seat and sat down. He was very quiet and did not misbehave in any observable way. As soon as he got seated, however, Mrs. O said,

> "Come on Bob, you have to go back to Mrs. S." Bob, very bewildered, responded, "Why? I didn't do nothing." "Come on." Mrs. O began writing another note and suddenly stopped. "I will talk to Mrs. S after I get out of class so go sit down." Bob, who had been standing near Mrs. O, returned to his seat. "I will talk to Mrs. S after class."

Observations in Mrs. O's classroom remind us that classrooms do not necessarily get organized at all. Even children who are ordinarily well behaved can become disoriented and non-cooperative in this classroom. Mrs. O's failure to establish orderly social relationships demonstrates that no teacher can depend entirely upon the work of previous teachers to establish class rules. Without a rule making and enforcement strategy of her own, Mrs. O spends much of her time struggling for control.

USING REWARDS TO ENFORCE RULES

Even when teachers are aware of the importance of classroom organization they may not understand the internal dynamics necessary for success. Mrs. L's class, for example, was orderly and controlled on some occasions but verged on chaos at other times. Although there was evidence of the existence of some rules, Mrs. L relied primarily on a token economy of "red marks" and "green marks" (as well as actual material rewards) as her primary tool for maintaining order. Little effort was made to produce a satisfactory classroom subculture.

When asked how she arrived at her way of doing things she stated it was "strictly hit or miss. I have never been taught." She had initiated the use of her token economy strategy several years previously while teaching in an isolated, atypical rural school as a way to motivate her students and because she had found the results personally satisfying she decided it might solve her problem of maintaining order in this urban classroom.

On a particular day her classroom began in an organized, orderly fashion. The children entered, put away their things and sat down. The opening exercises included group instruction which involved the entire class followed by the Pledge to the Flag. The birthday of a child was acknowledged. The class wished Mark "Happy Birthday" and Mrs. L presented him with a special birthday card.

The sense of groupness and order were soon shattered, however, when Mrs. L went to the "Red and Green marks" chart to reward or sanction students for doing, or not doing, various assignments. Between ten and fifteen minutes were spent at this task. Meanwhile the students were told,

> "While I am checking spelling you can do your other work." And the aide stating, to a child who had gotten out of his seat, "Everyone should be doing their reading or something."

The children's names were called and some responded by bringing up their spelling work while others gave her excuses for why they did not yet have it in. Others simply did not respond at all. The conversation during that episode included such statements as:

> Rose gets green marks for spelling.
>
> Carl, you get two green marks.
>
> Joanne, your writing is getting so good I am going to give you an extra green mark for that.
>
> Chuck, you forgot your spelling. If you do not bring your spelling tomorrow you will have to get a red mark. I will trust you to bring it tomorrow.
>
> Tina, you did your work very well. I really like the way you are doing your work. And you did it so well you will get an extra green mark.
>
> Paul, I hope you are working because you only got five points last week. Paul, do you see where you are? You do not have any this week. (no red marks either)
>
> Sally, you get a treat and two green marks for (completing your reading book). Do you want a treat now or later? "Now." You people who passed to a new book get a treat. (Lollipops are given to the children who passed into a new reading book in the last few days.)

With the exception of the opening exercises there were no large or small group instructional activities until after 10 a.m. Just before morning recess Mrs. L met with a small reading group for about 15 minutes. She told them she would meet with them again after recess. Although they reassembled as instructed, she never got back to them. Instead, Mrs. L spent the remainder of the morning with individual students, calling them in informal groups to her desk to check their math folders, assign them further work, and answer individual questions. Some children did not even have tutorial contact with her. And not all of those who were summoned heeded her call. Andy, for one, did not get out his math folder when he was told. He just sat doing nothing. As a result Mrs. L stated,

> Andy, what did I ask you to do? Andy, if you do not get to work you will be in real trouble.

To Tim, she said,

> OK, Tim, move yourself to the back table. Get your things. Are you working? I would never know it.

Carl, who had earlier received two green marks for his spelling homework, became disengaged from the classroom activities once he was left to his own devices and ignored orders to become involved. Sitting at his desk doing nothing he was told,

> Carl, come here. Bring some of your books and come back here (to the work table by Mrs. L's desk).

He slowly arrived, was assigned work to do and then told to return to his seat to get to work. He returned to his seat but didn't get to work. Shortly thereafter he began wandering around the room, erasing the birthday boy's name from the blackboard as he passed by.

> "Mrs. L, Carl erased Mark's name." "Carl that is IT for you."

Mrs. L then went and put a red mark by Carl's name. That, however, did not faze him in the least. He finally went back to his seat, turned the pages in one of his books but still did no work. Instead he got up again and wandered over to Peter's desk to observe an older child working with Peter. When Mrs. L noticed where he was she called,

> "Carl, come here and bring your math book. Where is your math floor plan? Didn't you get one yesterday?" "No." "Carl just didn't go up and get one" (said another student). "Carl, you have got to come in from outer space and get your mind working. You can't go wandering around like a little lost boy."

Mrs. L went to get him a math floor plan and while she was doing that Carl wandered off again. "Carl, where are you?", she said when she returned to her desk. Carl then came back to her desk, listened as she assigned him his math work and once more returned to his seat. Four children had lined up at Mrs. L's desk while she was directing Carl and they carried on a social conversation while they waited.

Carl glanced at the work assignment but did not do it. Instead he got up, joined Peter, who had also left his seat, and the two of them strolled around the front of the room. Mrs. L looked up from her work with a student, noticed them and said to Carl, "Carl, you take your book and go outside and work at the table." He left the room and stayed outside until it was lunch time. Then he returned to the room to get his lunch ticket and went to lunch-recess.

Following lunch Mrs. L conducted a geography lesson with the whole class and during that period of time the class was orderly. When the day ended Mrs. L went to one child and gave her enough money to buy an ice cream cone. She said to her,

> You have been very well behaved all day and did good work.
> This is your reward.

Mrs. L. doesn't understand the difference between rewards and incentives. She believes that material rewards rather than cultural incentives control behavior. Her public display of distributing red marks, green marks, lollipops and ice cream money is made in the, often vain, hope that students will not only comply with her present expectations but will also achieve a deeper commitment to orderly participation in the days to come. She really believes that today's ice cream money will buy tomorrow's good behavior.

Another classroom, Mr. K's, displayed organizational problems similar to Mrs. L's. In his case however, he used personal appeal rather than monetary or token, rewards in an effort to maintain order. He, too, had been largely unsuccessful in the development of a satisfactory classroom subculture. Part of his difficulty sprang from a sense on the part of some students that their whole group was without legitimate meaning. One student confided to an observer that,

> We're the 'leftovers.' The best students are in Mrs. X's room, the second best in Mr. Y's room and the leftovers in our room. About five or six of us are good students but the rest are not. This is a weird class.

Even Mr. K. had some doubts about the authenticity of this group. He said,

> . . .it is a very lonely group. They don't take directions very well.

His strategy for coping with this problem reflects, however, an essentially rational (rather than a cultural) perspective. He says,

> I try to change everything every day so they'll follow directions.

As a result of trying to change things rather than unifying his students into a system of shared meanings and purposes, Mr. K further weakened their already deficient culture — exacerbating the very problems of loneliness and alienation he sought to cure.

Mr. K did attempt more group instruction and teacher directed activity than either Mrs. O or Mrs. L. And he worked to gain complete student attention before conducting a lesson. He also provided considerably more teacher elicitation and secured more student responses. He displayed an understanding of the tenuousness of classroom social order during one lesson — when the class shouted out an answer, Mr. K responded with,

> Sh. Sh. Don't let me lose you. You're doing fine.

On another occasion when students were restive, Mr. K stated,

> I'm not going any further unless you get yourselves under control. . . . In order to pull this off everyone will have to do their part.

And because some students still didn't respond he said,

> We are not going to go on until everyone quiets down. Bill, turn around. I am somewhat ashamed of you. Maybe you can't handle activities. Maybe we shouldn't have them. I've spent a lot of time preparing this. Sit down in your seat, Joan. I did not say anything about running for anything. First thing we are going to do is read this sheet. It makes sense to follow along. Candy, you can't do it by talking with Wendy. Follow along fellows.

The class finally did quiet down and the students read the material aloud. Some of the students raised their hands so that they could get a chance to read.

RULE-BASED ORDER: OVERT POWER STRATEGIES

The majority of our teachers did recognize the importance of establishing rules. They generally managed rule-bound classrooms. Of these teachers only two tended to rely primarily on overt power-based enforcement strategies rather than on rule enculturation to maintain order.

One of these teachers, Mrs. N, mixed the use of legal and moral rules, not only to control behavior but also to control the rewards and/or honors she had to bestow. She was prone to begin teaching some lessons without having the complete attention of all her students.

On one occasion, after recess, she began the math lesson before everyone was quiet and also failed to give explicit directions about the work assignment. This resulted in confusion and talking. Hoping to reduce the talking, she stated,

> I like the way Luke is working, so nice and quiet.

Donald, however, was not quiet, did not take the hint, and was told,

> You are making too much trouble up there. Go sit in the back of the room in that chair.

Donald changed his seat as he was told but instead of participating in the learning activity he rocked back and forth in his chair, played with paper and then with his hands. Being moved to the back of the room quieted Donald but he never became engaged in the math lesson and it did not quiet some of the other children. There was a good deal of "Sh Sh" going on.

The chair to which Donald had been moved actually belonged to another child, Davy, who was in the lab. When he returned to class another disturbance occurred. Seeing Donald in his seat, Davy went to him and said,

> Why are you sitting in my seat? You don't belong there. Get out of my seat.

Mrs. N, who heard Davy's comment, responded,

> Davy, I told Donald to sit there. You may sit in the chair next to him.

Davy grudgingly complied with Mrs. N but vented his displeasure on Donald by giving him a shove in the side with his elbow. He remained annoyed with Donald the rest of the morning. By this time, however, Donald was interested in the lesson that was underway and, after glaring at Davy, just ignored him.

The most pervasive concept behind the rules in Mrs. N's classroom was "good citizenship." — a concept which she developed in an attempt to control attitudes as well as behavior. Mrs. N would say such things as,

> Susie is being a good citizen. She is sitting in her chair nice and quietly.
>
> I want ten good citizens at the blackboard.
>
> Let's see which good citizens go to lunch first. Table 2, you are all very good citizens. You may go to lunch.
>
> Since I do not have enough (math problems) on the board I will choose who goes up on the basis of good citizenship — how well you are sitting and watching.

Identifying the good citizens was not a class decision, it belonged exclusively to Mrs. N. And it was not always clear what behavior constituted good citizenship. For example,

> Mrs. N was preparing to show a film and said to a student, "Andy, you have your head down. You are being a good citizen. Would you like to pull the screen down?" However, when (the film ended) another child, who had been sitting quietly and paying attention, raised his hand and asked, "Can I take the projector to the office?" Mrs. N told him, "No, because you asked. I pick good citizens that DON'T ask."

The inability of the second student to do the right thing was the result of (a) Mrs. N's inconsistent use of the notion of good citizenship to establish classroom control and (b) her view that students threatened her control if they tried to lay claim to rewards, no matter how well behaved they were. On some occasions, raising one's hand when Mrs. N asked for "good citizens" to go to the board, etc., was accepted as appropriate behavior. Thus her claim that "good citizens don't ask" violated a rule which the student had good reason to believe would govern the classroom. This episode also reveals that Mrs. N had no intention of sharing her right to distribute special privileges or honors. Indeed, Mrs. N frequently invented new rules when she felt her ability to maintain control over the distribution of rewards was being threatened.

Mr. D, the other power oriented rule enforcer, strongly supported the use of rules and the development of a classroom culture. In addition to seeking control over their behavior, however, he tried to utilize rules to control children's attitudes and goals. His classroom reveals the difficulties teachers encounter when trying to use rules for these purposes. When disruptions occurred or children disobeyed a rule, they were often charged with disloyalty to the class (culture). The charge was articulated through his special use of the word "choice". For example,

> Julie, are people back there (at table 1) choosing to put their heads down? "No." Then you need to choose to be quiet.
>
> Julie, you have chosen to move to the closet because you are talking too loud. I am very sorry she has chosen to do that, but when you talk too loud, you don't let other people do their work.

On another occasion,

> Richard, you chose not to be able to sit there on the rug because you moved.

Or again,

> Those of you who passed out books, please collect them. Arnold, you chose not to collect any more books. Collectors have to be very quiet.

So that he could provide small group instruction Mr. D would assign two groups of children to independent work projects and work with the third group. (A fourth group would always be working with a tutor assigned to his room.) Sometimes children working independently would have some problems which they could not solve working alone. On one occasion, the following interchange occurred.

> Tania had a problem with her independent assignment and went to Mr. D. "I need some help." "I am working with this group. You may find someone in your group to help you." She returned to her seat and asked for help but no one was able to provide satisfactory assistance. As a result she returned to Mr. D, who responded, "I can not do anything for you. You may not interrupt the group." She returned to her seat but was unable to complete her assignment.

On another occasion when Mr. D walked by the two groups working independently, making sure they were doing their work, a student at Table 2 said, "Mr. D?" He responded, "No, I am just passing by. I am not answering any questions."

Mr. D clearly wanted to encourage students to work independently as well as not interrupt his working with a particular group. However, he did not provide sufficient alternatives for students to solve problems when they arose. Not all children were willing to sit quietly and wait for his attention when they got "stuck".

During a teaching session involving teacher elicitation and student response Mr. D rearticulated a common classroom rule,

> Remember you raise your hands to answer.

Later in the lesson this rule was referred to again, this time with the threat to punish.

> I see that Erick has his hand up quietly. I am not going to listen to anyone speaking out of turn.

At other times during the observations the following comments were made to reinforce appropriate behavior.

> Laura is working so quietly. That is so helpful. She does not bother other people who are working.
>
> I see Chachi is sitting very quietly and so is Pedro.
>
> MaryJane has her pencil ready and is sitting quietly.
>
> Ross is sitting very quietly waiting for directions. He knows if he listens he will know exactly what to do.

Occasionally Mr. D employed an exchange mechanism which at first glance looked something like that employed by Mrs. L. In reality, however, he unilaterally set the terms of what he calls a "bargain" with the children. They were given no say in the matter. For example,

> During a teaching lesson that involved the use of brand new books Mr. D said to one student, "If you do not want to participate, maybe you don't need a book. You should be on this page and not looking through the book. Remember at the beginning (of the year) I said you could look through the book all you wanted so when we are working in the book we could stay at the same page. I kept my part of the bargain, what about you?"

There were substantial costs associated with Mr. D's power-based rule enforcement strategy. Although this room was generally quiet and considerable teaching went on, there were often tears and a sense of frustration on the part of various students. Mr. D had rules but he had not moved from enforcement to enculturation.

RULE-BASED ORDER: NORMATIVE STRATEGIES

The majority of our teachers developed normative, explicit rules, rules which could be understood and obeyed without the continuous threat of enforcement.

A second year teacher, Mrs. J, demonstrates one typical mechanism for the development of classroom cultures. Gathering her class at the rug she led them in singing, "You Are My Sunshine." She interpreted this activity to her first graders by saying,

> We have gotten to sing that two days in a row because there are no names on the board.

Such celebration of cooperative behavior is a common occurrence among our teachers. This teacher adds verbal reinforcement to this ritual celebration when she says such things as,

> Center 2 looks super. Center 3 does too. Center 4 is ready.

If children still had trouble with self control, however, Mrs. J was willing to use public shame as an enforcement mechanism. For example,

> Two children working on their number sheets got each other into trouble. Bernard takes Jennifer's eraser from her and she tries to get it back. Mrs. J, seeing the struggle, says, "Jennifer and Bernard, put your names on the board."

Mrs. J sometimes added personal appeal to her repertoire of devices for getting student compliance. She was going to be out of the classroom one afternoon to attend a meeting and informed the class they were going to have a substitute. She said that when she came back she did not want to find any names written on the board. "It makes me sad and I don't want to be sad." She also told them that she always came back to school after her meetings so that she would know what was going on.

Specific class rules were not posted in this room but their presence was felt and the children knew what they were.

In Mrs. B's 5th-6th grade class, a list of rules was posted on the bulletin board. This class had a number of students with serious problems including two who had been expelled from other elementary schools. But as she said,

> I can't dwell too much on their problems at home. I can empathize . . . but when it comes time that they are in this classroom, then by gosh, at that time I must insist we get on with the lessons.

One strategy she used to facilitate "getting on" with the lessons was to begin her class by,

> leading her students in a discussion concerning why they are in school and why they should do their best work. Following that they also reviewed the class rules. These rules are 1) no inappropriate talking, 2) keep hands, feet, objects, etc. to him or her self, 3) remain seated unless permission is given to do otherwise, 4) follow directions the first time, and 5) no cussing or teasing.

According to the class discussion, the purpose of these rules is to provide a safe, orderly environment in which conversation, time and energy are directed toward getting an education.

Positive social and academic behavior in Mrs B's class was often publicly reinforced through praise, having one's name put on the COOL list or, occasionally, with rewards like posters. Negative behavior was usually dealt with privately or with a minimum of fanfare. Sometimes it was necessary to put names on the UNCOOL list. The following are examples of both events.

> The students come into the room. "I like the way Reggie came in, sat down, and knew right what to do. Karen knew right what to do. Jeremy looks good. Edward looks good." Mrs. B put their names on the board under COOL and put a star beside each name.

During a reading session she said, when the first reader finished,

> That's a real good job. You can be proud.

When the second reader finished,

> I like the way you are really using periods to help give good expression.

To the group who was listening to cassettes at another table,

> I want to compliment the Octogons for the nice way you were at the listening table.

On another occasion, as it was drawing close to recess time and students were busy working at their desks, Mrs. B went to the blackboard and wrote the following:

> If you are reading this, do the following,
>
> 1. Tidy up!
> 2. Get things out for U. S. S. R.
> 3. Heads down!

Those who looked up to see what she was writing followed the directions immediately. Those still deeply immersed in their work did not, but they soon were nudged by their classmates. Then they too looked up, read the message and did the same. There was absolute silence in the room, and Mrs. B said,

> Thank you for doing that so promptly.

They are dismissed for recess a few minutes thereafter.

There were students, of course, who forgot the rules occasionally, who didn't get to work as quickly as they should, who got to talking when they shouldn't, or whose whispering became too loud. One day,

> A group of children was supposed to be doing an assignment listed on the board and one them hadn't yet gotten to work. Mrs. B noticed that and wrote him a note, which another child delivered, stating "Get to work." A short time later when she noticed he was working she sent a second note which read, "Much better, Damien. XO, Mrs. B." When Damien's reading group met with Mrs. B he returned her second note, with a note written on the back stating, "Thank you Mrs. B. XO."

Some time later, she stopped working with a reading group, rang a bell and said,

> "Freeze! I can see you are all doing good work but the noise level is getting too high. If you are working together what are you supposed to do?" The students respond, "Whisper." "If I can hear you, you are not whispering." With the exception of two students the voice level drops immediately. Mrs. B gets up and says to them, "I resent having to get out of my seat." She speaks quietly to them and gets them back to work.

Sandy, another student, misbehaved one morning and,

> got her name put on the UNCOOL list. As time went on and Sandy had been working along quietly, Mrs. B said, "Sandy, keep up the good work" and erased her name from the UNCOOL list.

On only one occasion during our observations did Mrs. B use an overt power enforcement strategy. During a math lesson a large group of students were sent to the board to do some of the problems given in Puzzle 25. The others remained at their seats. One of the students at the board had trouble solving his problem and became a bit noisy trying to get help from his classmates. And some of those in their seats began working on other classwork while they waited for those at the board to finish writing. One boy took out a comic book to read. This student disengagement angered Mrs. B. She stopped everyone and stated,

> "I will wait till everyone has pencils down and eyes up here. Tommy, why don't you join us? Spelling books away. Comic books away. Rick, the only thing we are working on is math. I should see Puzzle 25 right in front of you." Having said this Mrs. B walks around the room and checks to see if her directions are being followed.

To further emphasize her displeasure with such conduct Mrs. B said to the class monitor for the day,

> "Lucius, will you get that suspension form from my desk and bring it to me? Also will you go to the office and get me one more?" Lucius follows her directions. There is dead silence in the room. The math lesson is resumed, the students doing the problems and completing the assignment.

No student was actually suspended but Mrs. B's implied threat was understood by her class and there were no further problems that afternoon.

In another fifth grade classroom the rules reflected the teacher's belief in the importance of relationship and respect. This teacher believed that students who respect themselves and others function better in the classroom. Her reminders and/or enforcement stategies for her students who "forgot" or lost their self-control reflected this belief. Three of the rules in this class were 1) no rocking in your chair, 2) no name calling, and 3) no hitting. The students understood and accepted the need for these rules and sometimes participated in deciding how a rule offender would be disciplined. Oft times, however, only a reminder was necessary. For example,

> While working on a problem, Jeff leaned back in his chair and began rocking. Mrs. I said, "Remember you are not to lean back in your chair and cause it to rock. What will happen if you keep that up?" Jeff responded sheepishly, "I could fall over and get hurt." He stopped doing it immediately and then continued with his work.

Later that day a name-calling and hitting incident occurred on the playground between two members of this class. Mrs. I was informed of the incident and, when class reconvened, the episode was discussed and dealt with immediately. Members of the class contributed to the discussion and agreed with Mrs. I's proposed means of solving it without formal disciplinary action. (On other occasions the students had suggested other informal ways of dealing with classmates who had broken the rules.)

> During the discussion Mrs. I said, "Jill, you have been calling people names. You called Ronny a black nigger and Vicky a white honkey. These kids do not like it when you call someone a name, especially if it refers to color. Do you understand?"

Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the students in that class believed in the "no name calling" rule and had, on other occasions, verbalized their sense of outrage when name calling had occurred. Even Jill, herself a relative newcomer to the class, had been working on controlling her tendency toward name calling.

> Andy had done the hitting and Mrs. I said to him, "Andy, hitting is not good. You may have been taught to hit at home but we just can't have hitting at school." She then commented that Andy was sorry for what he had done.

Just before lunch that morning Mrs. I publicly awarded imaginative certificates to various students for improved academic and/or social behavior. She gave BONED UP awards to two students saying,

> "I am proud that Tamika has BONED UP on her spelling." And, "Shirley and Tamika have really done well. I congratulate you. That is what really counts, trying."

When Mrs. I finished presenting those certificates she then gave the HANG IN THERE awards to various students.

> "You have not made as much progress but we are aware that you have been doing better. And you are doing better." The students clap for the winners. "That's what I like about you guys, you always clap for people who get awards."

Mrs. I then presents a certificate which she reads:

> "A special award is presented to Jill for outstanding improvement in her attitude and behavior at N. . . . School. She has shown a terrific attitude for the past two weeks." The class applauds with vigor when Jill receives her certificate.

The hand raising rule was frequently reinforced in this classroom by positively evaluating such behavior. During a math question and answer session for example, Mrs. I says,

> I like the way you guys are raising your hands.

As students get older, teachers find that they must insist that attention be focused on the subject at hand and that students not work on any other materials or assignments. Mrs. A, a fourth-fifth grade teacher, forced such attention in the following episode.

> The math lesson is going on and students are doing work at the blackboard. Mario is asked to go to the board to do a problem and while he is there Mrs. A picks up a book that he was working with and sits on it. The book related to another assignment and not to math. When he finished at the board he returned to his seat and found his book missing. He began looking for it. Saying nothing, Mrs. A watched him

> hunt. She then asked, "What is the matter?" "I can't find my book." She doesn't tell him she has the book but says instead, "You don't have to worry about your book now. We are right in the middle of this lesson. You'll find your book when the time comes and you need it."

During this math lesson Mrs. A also makes explicit the generally invisible structure surrounding the teacher elicitation, student response and teacher evaluation process described in Chapter IV. As the observation protocol reports,

> Mrs. A selects one of the boys in the class to be "teacher" and he calls on another student to come to the board. The person he assigned does the work correctly. Mrs. A says to the "teacher", "Aren't you going to tell him what a wonderful job he did?" Some of the children laugh. Mrs. A says, however, "Seriously, if you do a good job you should be told so." Another "teacher" is selected, he calls some students to the board, gives them problems to solve and when they do them correctly, he compliments them.

As was true of the other effective teachers Mrs. A regularly reinforced and evaluated student behavior with such comments as:

> (after passing out papers to the class to begin a work session) You have five minutes. Tomas's ready, Jay's ready and has his pencil all sharpened. Peg's not making a sound, Joline's ready, she's looking at me, Penny's ready, she's sitting up. Hot dog! You are all doing a good job today.
>
> (when it is time to check the spelling assignment) OK, exchange your papers. Dawn is ready, Juanita is ready, Penny's ready. I know that Chad is ready because he has his pencil in his hand and he's not making a sound.
>
> (at the end of a small group reading session) Thank you for remembering to push your chair in, D.D.

One morning the principal came into the room and spoke with Mrs. A. She also spoke with the class for a moment before she left the room. Mrs. A then said to the class,

> I'd like you to know that while Mrs. P was here there was one person in the back of the room that was really listening, yet continuing to do his work. I'm really pleased with you, P.T. You have done a complete turn around from last year and are really being a good student. Even his mother realizes and is so pleased.

During all of the observations of Mrs. A's classroom there was only one explicit reference to a specific rule and that concerned hand raising. During most of the morning children raised their hands for permission to get materials they needed or to get help from Mrs. A's aide. However, during one work session, while Mrs. A was busy with a reading group, Andrea and Penny got up from their seats without raising their hands and walked back to the aide's desk.

> "You go and sit down. You didn't raise your hands," says the aide. Mrs. A adds, "I think maybe we need to have a talk at lunch time if you are not going to remember the rules."

Whereas some of the teachers permitted students to help each other with decoding problems in reading this was not the case in Mr. E's class. During a reading session, Mr. E said,

> "Now we will read. If someone has trouble with a word don't help them out. Let them work it out by themselves so they can learn the word." Terese begins to read and has a problem decoding a word. A boy starts to help her, realizes what he's doing and covers his mouth. Another child reads the next paragraph. She gets stuck, no one says anything and she figures out the word by herself.

Students in this class were often publicly honored and rewarded for their good behavior as happened in the following episode.

> "What ever you are working on now, you have two or three minutes to finish up and then it will be time for lunch." A small amount of socializing begins and Mr. E says, "OK, listen up! Everybody back to their seats. Everybody back to their seats immediately. Excellent, Megin, excellent." Megin's name is written on the COOL list on the board. Mr. E writes some other names also. "OK, everyone's head down." Some more names are added to the COOL list and get stars put beside them. "Looking good. This afternoon I will teach you play 'Steal the Bacon'. Remind me." It is now time for lunch. The names of the students who are on the COOL list are called first and thus first in the room's lunch line.

Mr. E also uses the "uncool" list when necessary. He is especially likely to use this rule enforcement strategy to secure complete student attention during a lesson.

> "Today we are starting double divisors. Turn to page 78." Mr. E, who is standing at the blackboard when he says this, turns and writes a name on the UNCOOL list. "It is very important when we are doing math that it is all you are doing. When I am explaining a concept I need your complete attention or you will miss something. Then it fouls you up and I have to spend extra time trying to straighten you out. And that takes away from everybody."

Mr. E used an exchange mechanism of control on another morning when members of his class failed to comply with the rules.

> The class is told to get ready for lunch and some of them get too noisy. Mr. E just stands in the front of the room and soon it is absolutely silent. "As you can tell, I am not real thrilled right now. I had to spend too much time talking about people who were not quiet. So it is lunch time now and I get to waste your time for a few minutes. So if you waste my time then I will waste yours." He lets that sink in. Then he walks around and hands out the lunch tickets. "There are no cuts in line. Some of you are doing that and it is not cute. You are to walk out like ladies and gentlemen. After recess there will be a line, a neat line." He calls the names of the various students and they line up at the door. They are very subdued. "Now, like ladies and gentlemen, we will walk down to the lunch line." They leave the room and go to lunch.

KINDERGARTEN: WHERE THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS BEGINS

For most students socialization into the rule structure of the school begins in kindergarten. The typical kindergarten teacher spends a great deal of time preparing her students for entry into the culture of the many different classrooms they will encounter over the years.

Mrs. G, the kindergarten teacher in our sample, utilized an intriguing array of techniques to develop her classroom culture. On the opening day of school Mrs. G had all of the children sit down together so that she could talk with them and explain what they were permitted to do at the beginning of each day. She explained that there were various activities for them to work on until the bell rang to start the school day. She provided them with a large number of activities at first and then limited the number after a few days. She explained to them that some activities would no longer be available because "it takes too long to clean them up before school starts." Unlike the older children, kindergarteners go directly to their classrooms when they arrive at school and Mrs. G would greet each of them as they entered the room and direct them to the extracurricular activities until the bell rang. She called each of them by name and insisted they call her "Mrs. G", not "teacher." She also checked to make sure they put away their personal belongings before becoming involved in an activity of their choice.

An episode which occurred one morning, shortly before Halloween, illustrates Mrs. G's most powerful socializing tool — the rationalization of rules.

> Mrs. G brought a pumpkin into class and placed it on the table. When the children arrived they spotted it immediately and went to the table to handle it, feel it and move it around. Mrs. G walked to the table and said to them, "I would not lift it up. I would hate to have it fall and land on a foot and squish some toes." The children continued to enjoy the pumpkin but no one attempted to lift it.

By offering a meaningful rationale for the rule "don't pick up the pumpkin", Mrs. G was able not only to get compliance with this specific requirement, but also to make rules appear natural, reasonable, and an appropriate part of school life.

On another occasion, Mrs. G demonstrated that rules can be made to seem more reasonable if teachers anticipate their effects and help children cope with any problems they encounter when trying to comply. Just before the bell was to ring Mrs. G said to the students who were busy playing in various sections of the room,

> I think it is time for you to put things away now. I think the bell is going to ring.

The children heeded the warning and started putting their things away. The bell rang and Mrs. G said,

> All right boys and girls, the bell has rung. Come and sit down please.

Only three children did not immediately respond as they were reassembling the puzzles so they could put them away. The task was taking a bit longer then expected so Mrs. G called to them,

> Earl, Jose, Barry, put the pieces down. You can finish putting them away later.

Mrs. G routinely expected the children to sit up straight with their hands in their laps and legs crossed when she assembled them for group instruction. On one particular morning she reminds them of that, saying,

> Now, let's cross your legs and put your hands in your laps. Good morning, Megin Mitchell. "Good morning, Mrs. G"

Each child in the class was greeted in the above fashion and only one needed correction because he said "teacher" instead of her name. Each time they gathered at the rug Mrs. G used her second most powerful socialization tool — positive attention — to reinforce their compliance with the sitting rule with comments such as,

> I like the way Amy sits. I like the way Kerry sits. Kirby has his hands folded and is sitting up straight. Donald's sitting so nicely. You make me feel so good.

She was also quick to act if behavior outside the bounds of her simple rule structure was in evidence. When, for example, she was discussing the math work to be done and two boys weren't completely attentive she stopped and said,

> Donald, I would like Bob to sit someplace else so you two won't talk so much. You can be friends on the playground.

There were times when personal conversation was acceptable in the classroom but Mrs. G expected the children to be quiet when she was teaching or giving directions and took immediate action when she did not have their complete attention. In the following example, she points to the collective purpose or mission of the classroom as the justification for her demands:

> Mrs. G is working with phonic sounds with the children and some are still a bit too wiggley. "I think we are going to have a little talk. I am having to spend too much time talking to you about what we are doing. Will you not talk unless I ask you to? I think this lesson is the most important thing you are going to do today."

When they are supposed to be doing follow-up work, Mrs. G publicly rewards as well as reinforces appropriate social and academic behavior by saying,

> OK, let's see who is going to be the first one to get their name on the board. Carlotta is busy, she gets a smiling face. Gina gets a smiling face. Cassie. Ginny. (The name of each child mentioned is written on the board and a smiling face is drawn next to it.)

The children were quiet and busy at work almost immediately.

As was mentioned earlier, a nearly universal rule requiring students to write their names on all papers — first thing, so they won't forget — is usually introduced in kindergarten. At one point, when the children in this class were at their seats doing a math assignment, one boy vividly portrayed the socialization process at work when he said aloud to himself, "I have got to write my name first."

Mrs. G relied on a less universal but still widespread rule for determining when children have completed their seatwork materials so that she could begin checking it. She did not require children to come to her to tell her they were finished or to raise their hands and possibly distract others still working. Rather, she had them turn their papers over and place them on their desks. One morning she noticed one boy who had finished but failed to comply with this rule:

> "Walter, when you are finished, what do you do?" As Walter demonstrates what he's supposed to do, Mrs. G says, "You turn your page to the back and then I can see you are done and can come and check your work."

As other children finished their work they followed the directions given in Mrs. G's reminder.

SUCCESSFUL ENCULTURATION:
DIRECTION GIVING RATHER THAN RULE ENFORCEMENT

When a teacher successfully enculturates the rules for all students their idiosyncratic behaviors blend into the classroom sub-culture to become unobtrusive — almost invisible. As this happens, student behavior can be viewed as a part of that culture and the teacher can rely on "giving directions" rather than "making rules" in order to control student actions. Moreover, when this happens, virtually all student behavior, because it is guided by the classroom culture, becomes an occasion for teaching.

The observations of Mrs. H's first grade classroom revealed such a culturally directed order. She had behavioral rules, they were discussed during a parent in-service when Mrs. H told the parents,

> It takes me about six weeks to get to know your child. What they can do and what they can't, whether they will settle down or won't settle down. First we have some classroom rules and the children are expected to follow them. We have gone over them since the first day of school and if I call you, it is probably because they are not following these rules. The rules are posted there on the bulletin board.

And she indicated that they are important to her when she stated that an important consideration in teaching was,

> . . .maintaining good discipline in the classroom so that everybody is functioning and doing and having a good time, but still learning without a whole lot of haphazard activities going on. And I don't think a classroom has to be absolutely quiet but I think it has to be meaningful talk.

When we observed her classroom we found it quiet — her students worked with the aide, independently, on assigned materials, or with Mrs. H herself. There were almost no references to requirements or rules in evidence.

Mrs. H's ability to give directions rather than make rules is illustrated in the way she worked with a reading group one morning. She told the reading group that they could choose any word from the chart that they wanted and then tell the rest of the group what it is. If someone does not get the word right Mrs. H gets to hold it so that they can do it again after they have gone through all the words once.

> "You may look at it and tell us what it is. Then you can put it back into the chart." To the first child, "See if everybody agrees." The child answers, "It is TIED." "Do you agree with her?" "Yes." "Alright, you can put it back on the chart." To another child, "You tell us what you think it is." "Is she right?" "Yes." "It is your turn to choose." The child responds, "DUCK." "You show it and see if they agree. That's right? No, I don't think it is. Look at it again." "LOOK." "That's right. I get to hold the word." The child

> hands her the word. Mrs. H then points to the chart. "Oh! Oh! You see something wrong that A?" One of the children answers, "Oh, I see. I put it upside down" and she goes and turns it right side up."

This lesson requires the students to cooperate with highly developed social rules, but Mrs. H has so successfully socialized these children that they no longer see her as forming rules. She only directs their activities within a framework of fully accepted but virtually invisible rules.

A little later Mrs. H directs these first graders' attention to a bathroom use rule as she dismisses them for recess. She says,

> Let's put your things down. Now stand up and then line up. Remember you are to use the bathroom first. (It is time for recess and the class is being dismissed.)

Even this explicit rule, however, is not articulated as a requirement, only as a reminder to follow what is culturally defined at the natural order of things.

Following recess the children begin their math. One child has a problem and Mrs. H again invokes classroom rules in a natural way. She says,

> "You come up here and I'll work with you. It looks like you are having a problem with take away. Read your number sentence again. What does it say.?" Desmond follows her directions and while he works on his paper Mrs. H checks the work of another child. Then Mrs. H looks at Desmond's paper again and says, "Hurrah! You have gotten it all right. Not let's do the next page. But you check the signs. They are all mixed up now. Look at all the pictures very carefully." "Tyrie. Tyrie." Tyrie has been busy working away but he has been talking to himself about his work and his voice has gotten a bit too loud. He lowers his voice and continues working.

Clearly the most important element in Mrs. H's ability to transform rules into directions is her ability to continuously monitor all of the children and quickly spot any trouble they have complying with expectations. She displays this skill repeatedly. For example, one day as she watched the class at work she called various ones up to the front table to check their work or to give them help if she believed they looked puzzled. She also checked Desmond's work again and said,

> "We have gotten three oops! here." She erases the three answers and he goes right to work on them.

Patsy got most of her work done but then had trouble with the money section. She stopped working and looked out of the window. Mrs. H saw her and said,

> "Patsy, what are you doing?" "I don't know how to count money." "You had better come here." "How much is a nickel?" "Five cents." "How much is a penny?" "One cent." Patsy then works on her math sheet right in front of Mrs. H and gets it completed. Mrs. H checks it and marks it. "What is that?" "A C for correct." Patsy proudly returns to her seat and says "Now I can work on sets."

Though the observations in Mrs. H's classroom, as with all of the teachers in this study, were limited in scope we were impressed by the effectiveness and consistency with which she was able to rely on culturally supported directions rather than rule enforcement to guide student behavior. We were also impressed by the extent to which this shift from rules to directions turns all classroom activities into learning experiences for children.

THE INTRUSION OF THE SCHOOL'S RULE STRUCTURE

In addition to classroom rules there are also school-wide rules, and the school's rule structure sometimes intrudes into the classroom. When this occurs teachers sometimes direct their disapproval at breaking a school rule both to the particular offender(s) and to the entire class so that they are informed of the unacceptability of such behavior in hopes that it will not be repeated in the future. For example,

> Mrs. I's class returns from recess. There has been a problem during recess and Mrs. I says, "Before we can get to work again we have to talk about some things. I have gotten a referral slip. What grade are you in?" This question is directed toward a specific student who responds, "Fifth Grade." "This referral says you were writing on the bathroom stall. Do you have to clean it off or does the custodian have to clean it off? If you need to write during recess I have plenty of scratch paper. That's just not done. That belongs to everyone. What would happen if you weren't caught? The third graders could see it and add to it. I don't think it is very funny. This is the second referral slip. Are you trying for one next week?" Mrs. I is really annoyed. "Remember, I read the rules. I think instead of giving up my lunch time you will stay after school with me. You will lose your lunch recess and spend it with (the aide). After school, you and I will discuss the consequences. Mrs. I is not going to let you get away with it. I am going to deal with it."

While only the offender is going to be kept after school the whole class is being informed and warned of the unacceptability of such behavior.

In another instance a notice had been given to the teaching staff by one of the principals concerning student behavior on the playground. Some of the older students had been involved in a throwing incident and a child had been injured. Earlier in the year the teachers had taken class time to discuss appropriate playground behavior and while none of this class' students were actually involved, Mrs. J views the offending students' conduct as being potentially contagious and wants to make sure her students do not become infected.

> Mrs. J takes attendance and then says to the class, "Look at the clock. We are supposed to be reading now but we have to take time for scolding. Do we have to make a long list of what we can't throw? We can't throw sticks. We can't throw anything. An upper grader was saying that Mr. R (the principal) didn't say anything about throwing sand. He knew better. You know you shouldn't throw sand, don't you?" The class responds, "Yes." "Good." The teacher then begins discussing what the groups will be doing during the first work period this morning.

Occasionally, however, teachers will intercede on behalf of their students. The following is an example of teacher intercession.

> "OK, boys and girls, freeze. Every part of your body including your mouths." Mrs. B then reads a note from Mrs. S (the principal) about the new sand and the rules about sand play. The note said that yesterday Mrs. S was stopping them from playing in the sand. However, because Mrs. B and Mr. E said, "Please, our kids know how to play in the sand. Please let us play in the sand." Mrs. S was willing to give them, "One last chance.'"
>
> Mrs. B, having read Mrs. S's note, had the class pledge they would use the sand in a safe way. They had to raise their hands and repeat after her, "I will use the sand in a safe manner", then "cross my heart." "What will happen if Mrs. B gets a yellow slip about you?" "You will have a fit." Yes, and what kind of fit?" "A hissy fit." They chuckle but they know that she means business.

Having interceded with the principal this teacher wants her students to know that she is at risk and that she expects them to act responsibly in return.

CONCLUSION

We have examined rule formation and enforcement by twelve of the fifteen teachers in our sample. Mrs. O's highly chaotic classroom lacks clear behavioral rules and consistent rule enforcement mechanisms. At the other end of the spectrum, Mrs. H's culturally directed first grade classroom also lacks visible rules and identifiable enforcement mechanisms. Thus, we find that well organized and highly disorganized classrooms show little evidence of explicit rule making or enforcement. We conclude that overt behavioral rules form a bridge between chaos and cultural order. Teachers with less well developed classroom cultures are required to spend more time and energy declaring and enforcing rules. As the classroom culture becomes more fully developed, rules come to be seen by the students as a natural outgrowth of the shared meanings and overall purposes of the classroom group and thus serve as the basis for teacher direction giving rather than the occasions for power struggles or psychological manipulations.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRINCIPALS:

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK IN CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Cultural meanings -- the development of a shared interpretation of social activities and a common definition of collective social projects -- are just as important to principals as to teachers. As Ouchi (1980) suggests, the articulation and interpretation of cultural symbols is a powerful mechanism for social control in any organization. More importantly, principals, like teachers, can only understand and execute their work responsibilities within the framework of a comprehensive (though largely unconscious) cultural meaning system. Before principals can utilize available cultural symbols to influence others they must first acquire for themselves a comprehensive and vivid way of typifying school events and defining the educational mission of the school. Observation and interview data collected from the five principals in our study reveal how principals develop and utilize specific cultural orientations. The most important cultural meanings embedded in these principals' work orientations and interprets the relationship between these personal cultures and the most prominent features of their work habits or administrative styles.

It is important to note at the outset that our principals' work orientations do not generally include either clear conceptions of their own role responsibilities or explicit attention to their influence over the teachers' incentive system. (In this respect our data echo those of Blumberg & Greenfield, 1981). This does not mean, however, that the principals' work behavior is chaotic or unpredictable. To the contrary, by combining observation and interview data, it is fairly easy to identify a consistent pattern (we will call it a "work style") for most principals. It is much more difficult, however, to discern the basis for that consistency. Thus the primary problem in our analysis of the principal data was to develop a set of concepts capable of capturing the overall character of each principal's style. The concepts needed to be specific enough to address the most salient features of the work done by the particular principals participating in this study. At the same time, however, our analysis needed to be broad enough to provide an overall description of the organizational and governance responsibilities of all elementary school principals. The desired balance between abstract theory and concrete data was achieved by concentrating on the application of four terms commonly used to describe the work of principals and other middle-level executives: administration, leadership, supervision, and management.

In the literature on complex organizations these four terms are used in many different, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory ways. Recently, however, some scholars have begun to distinguish more precisely among them and to describe more fully the behaviors associated with each (see, for example, Owens, 1970; Zaleznick, 1977; Krajewski, Martin and Walden, 1980; Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs and Thurston, 1981). These efforts have not yet produced either uniform definitions for the four terms or a common set of criteria for distinguishing among them. They have, however, demonstrated that these concepts do highlight rather different aspects of middle-level executive job responsibilities and work orientations.

As described more fully below, four of the five elementary school principals in our sample can be meaningfully classified as organizing their work primarily in terms of one of these four terms. That is, the most important differences in the work styles of our sample principals are highlighted by saying that one is primarily an administrator, one a leader, one a supervisor, and one a manager. By moving dialectically back and forth between the data and the literature, we can both refine the meaning of each of these different conceptions of the principalship and provide a rich textured interpretation of the work orientations of our principals.

Figure VI-1 presents the conceptual framework that best classifies the important differences among the principals we studied. As suggested by the figure, our data are more easily understood if we describe briefly how the principals differ in their approaches to defining and executing their job responsibilities.

The overall work orientations of the principals are shaped primarily by the ways in which they: a) typify teaching work behavior and b) define the overall mission or purposes of schooling. As shown in the rows of Figure VI-1, when thinking about the work of teachers, some principals concentrate on the level of EFFORT teachers put into their work while others focus more on the character and quality of their teaching task PERFORMANCE. When adopting the teaching effort perspective, principals tend to feel that teachers themselves know best what and how to teach, and that the job of the principal is largely to stimulate, motivate, and support them. This orientation toward teaching work assumes that improved teaching depends on the development of a more fully dedicated staff who will give their utmost effort to the task.

Principals who concentrate on the character and adequacy of teachers' task performance feel that teaching can be improved by prescribing more precisely the tasks to be performed and the techniques to be used by teachers. Principals holding this view emphasize the importance of taking steps to insure that appropriate techniques are utilized in the classrooms.

As indicated by the headings over the columns of Figure VI-1, principals generally orient to the mission or enterprise of schooling by concentrating either on the adequacy and efficiency of its ORGANIZATION or by concentrating on the EXECUTION of its various program elements. Principals who concentrate on program organization tend to feel that educational quality depends primarily on planning and coordination — that is, on whether tasks are properly defined and assigned to various members of the staff and the efforts of various staff members fully integrated and adequately supported. Those who concentrate on program execution tend to feel that educational outcomes depend more on the care or diligence with which relatively autonomous teachers discharge their work responsibilities.

As suggested in the cells of the figure, the four primary concepts for describing the principalship are defined by the intersection of the alternative teacher work and educational mission orientations described above.

FIGURE VI-1. PRINCIPAL WORK STYLES AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR ORIENTATIONS TOWARD TEACHING WORK AND THE OVERALL MISSION OF THE SCHOOL

		ORIENTATION TOWARD SCHOOL MISSION	
		SCHOOLING AS THE ORGANIZATION OF PROGRAMS (seek improved efficiency)	SCHOOLING AS THE EXECUTION OF TASKS (seek improved effectiveness)
ORIENTATION TOWARD THE NATURE OF TEACHING WORK	TEACHING AS DEDICATED EFFORT	Emphasizes Supporting Function ------ ADMINISTRATOR: Mr.Q	Emphasizes Motivating Function ------ LEADER: Mr. R
	TEACHING AS APPROPRIATE PERFORMANCE	Emphasizes Directing Function ------ SUPERVISOR: Mrs. S	Emphasizes Training Function ------ MANAGER: Mrs. P
		(School seen as the basic educ. unit)	(Teacher seen as the basic educ. unit)

Administration (upper left cell) is the proper label for principal work orientations when they are primarily concerned with: a) encouraging teachers to be diligent and dedicated, and b) planning and organizing program elements. Principals adopting this style believe that their primary duty lies in SUPPORTING both the activities of their teachers and the program of the school district. Like hospital administrators or university deans, these principals tend to believe that the people with whom they work are professionals who need to be provided with encouragement and adequate support services, but who are themselves best able to define and execute their primary work responsibilities.

Leadership (upper right cell) is the central concept when principals see teaching as dependent upon dedication and intensity of effort while seeing schooling as a matter of individual excellence rather than collective organization. Such principals concentrate on stimulating and motivating teachers to execute their responsibilities energetically and effectively. These principals see their own jobs primarily in terms of inspiring teachers with a vision of the purposes of education and the possibilities of children. They view teaching as an art form requiring spontaneity, dedication, and sensitivity rather than elaborate organization or intense technical training.

Supervision (lower left cell) is the central term for decribing the work of principals who combine an organizational view of school programs with a level-of-effort concern regarding teacher performance. These principals concentrate on controlling and directing teacher work efforts by both a) giving immediate guidance in the tasks to be performed and b) insisting that the planning and organization of these tasks is the prerogative and responsibility of school executives. Supervision oriented principals tend to display relatively little trust in the motives and competence of teachers, and to believe that schools cannot function without strong and direct intervention by principals.

Management (lower right cell) is the concept which highlights the work of principals who see schooling as dependent upon organization while teaching quality is a matter of technical performance. These principals concentrate on the execution of programs and the task performance of teachers. They tend to believe that quality education depends upon having a highly trained staff whose efforts are carefully coordinated and integrated into specific program goals.

As the data presented in the following sections show, while classroom teaching and learning involve elements drawn from all four of the principalship styles, principals tend to give primary emphasis to just one of the four work styles shown in Figure VI-1. As a result, the data reveal, our principals display certain contradictions in their work — contradictions which they intuitively recognize as limitations on their ability to fully implement their favored work style. These contradictions are best identified and interpreted in the context of concrete case data, hence we turn now to a discussion of the data from the principals.

THE PRINCIPAL AS MANAGER: THE CASE OF MRS. P

It's 2:40 p.m.; Mrs. P. sits in her office where she has just finished talking with her daughter by phone. The observation protocol at this point reads:

> She begins sorting out the paper work. She decides what she needs to take home and what she can do here now.
>
> 2:43 p.m. Mrs. P: "School is over already. How time flies when you're having fun."

She goes on to say:

> "I keep three files, one for Ed. Services (the central office division where she works 1/2 time), one for (the elementary school where she is principal), and one for my home stuff. I hold that because I can never get the concentration going until I get home."

Thus Mrs. P starts to "wrap up" her day. During this nine-hour day she will have dealt individually (in person or by phone) with co-workers, students, parents, and others on at least 74 distinct occasions (including 11 different encounters with her secretary). She will have shifted her work location at least 41 times (not counting two moves when no work was involved). And she will have worked with students and/or co-workers in six different group settings. Beyond the more than nine hours of observation (lasting from 7:58 a.m. to 5:20 p.m.), she will spend at least an additional two hours at the district office and will have her hair cut at 7:45 that night.

The most striking feature of the observation protocols on this principal is the picture they paint of intense and rapid-fire interactions. During our two days of observation, Mrs. P was never alone for more than five minutes at a time without being interrupted by a phone call or visit. She frequently was interrupted in the course of a conversation with one person by the telephone or by another person needing immediate attention.

At one point, talking about another principal, she voices feelings which undoubtedly refer as much to herself as to him when she says,

> He is getting burned out by too much work. The central office is rewarding good principals by giving them too much work.

She illustrates her point with reference to a third principal,

> Mrs. W got E school, but they increased the student population to 600 people. She now has the bilingual program for the district too, and she has no assistant principal. When we worked on the Futures Project it was Fridays from 4 to 7 and then on Saturdays too. Teachers all get paid for that, but we are "management".

In addition to the rapidity with which Mrs. P moves from place to place and from person to person, three other features of her work are prominent in the data.

1. Program Planning and Personnel Problems.

First, Mrs. P gives greatest attention to program planning and development but finds herself plagued by personnel problems. Her commitment to the programmatic features of her job is revealed clearly in a statement she made about how to evaluate a principal's job performance. To evaluate a principal, she said, one should look to:

> 1. Identify what kind of expectancy there is; is there a major thrust, or is everybody doing their own thing.
>
> 2. What's going on for improvement?
>
> 3. How is student discipline handled?
>
> 4. How is parent involvement handled?

Notice that there are no references to the feelings or attitudes of staff, students, parents, or even higher level administrators in this list. Principal evaluation, in Mrs. P's mind, is rooted in program evaluation — if the program is going well, the principal is doing well.

In both interview statements and observed activities, Mrs. P reveals a continuing interest in many different aspects of school and district level program planning. In fact, her workload as a program planner is so heavy that,

> 2:47 She says, "I write notes on everything, because I just cannot rely on my memory anymore. I have gotten a better sense about what things I can handle and what I cannot handle. . . .Anything I can do without thinking, I respond to as quickly as I can." She continues to go through papers. She reads files, throws away, writes a note, etc.

While she complains about the workload, she also takes pride in how well she is able to cope with the myriad of details and extensive paperwork involved. Describing the complexities and difficulties associated with working half-time as a principal and half-time as a curriculum coordinator in the central office, she says,

> "I think I can manage any school. And I think probably do it better than most. . . .I think that probably I am better informed about the total district than almost anybody else. I have been able to bring some coordination and continuity between elementary and secondary (programs). . . But it's a real killer. . . .I don't have time to talk with my teachers informally right after school and that kind of stuff. If you just take my calendar and look at the time that is fixed by meetings — it's tough."

It's tough alright. In May of that year this principal experienced a mini-rebellion by key staff members. They formed a committee and complained to her superior about a lack of attention to school problems resulting from the fact that both the principal and assistant principal were away from the building frequently performing district level assignments. Reflecting on the difficulties, she commented,

> "Probably more than anything that has surprised me is that I have never been with a group that has returned as little as this group has. I really wonder if somebody would say, you know, they have decided I am not going to be at (this school) next year, I am going to be at Timbuktu — I wonder how the teachers would feel because I don't get any reactions or 'vibes' or anything one way or the other. I have always had stroking from my staff, I have been here two years now. By the time somebody has been with me for two years, usually they have learned how I stroke and they start doing it back. These people aren't and I don't know why."

She links her staff difficulties with her managerial responsibilities when she says,

> "I think that the real crux (of the problem) is that, as we continue to cut down on the real managers (due to budget cuts) there are not going to be that many people available to deal with some real problems. . . .I know that for some time the small schools have wanted full-time principals. . . .I do all I can here, but I cannot do everything."

Despite tensions with her staff, however, Mrs. P continues to adhere closely to Levitt's (1976:73) description of the managerial work role. He says,

> Management consists of the rational assessment of a situation and the systematic selection of goals and purposes (what is to be done?); the systematic development of strategies to achieve these goals; the marshalling of required resources; the rational design, organization, direction, and control of the activities required to attain the selected purposes; and, finally, the motivating and rewarding of people to do the work.

2. High Energy and Careful Work.

A second notable feature of the data on Mrs. P is the level of energy and diligence which she brings to her work. For example, during a mid-day principals' meeting with a central office administrator responsible for the district's $600,000 ESAA grant to implement court-ordered desegregation, the subject of writing letters to parents of children who were being transferred to a new school came up. The observation protocol for that day contains the following entry:

> Letters need to go out and N. . . (the principal whose school the children will be leaving) wants someone else to send the

> letters. (Another principal) suggests that (the central office administrator) do the letters. (The central office administrator) indicates, however, that the receiving schools should send the letters. (The second principal) says, "I have a foul attitude about this." He says he doesn't want the additional responsibility. (The central office administrator) finally states that he could do it if they really want it that way. Mrs. P states, however, that she would send the letters out and will type (the sending school principal's) signature on them.

Thus, despite her complaint that she and other good principals are unable to keep up with work demands placed on them by the central office, Mrs. P responds to the tension in this meeting by taking on a responsibility which she could have avoided. Of course, avoiding this responsibility would have meant that the central office administrator would be saddled with a task which he felt belonged to the principals, but he had grudgingly agreed to take it on before Mrs. P volunteered.

In another example of unusual work effort, Mrs. P tells the ESAA administrator that she would prefer to have the visitation by the transferring children occur some time after a day on which the children were to take a battery of district tests. She decides to hold off on a final decision, however, until after she has talked with her teachers about their preferences. Within ten minutes of returning to her school, she made the rounds of all the teachers in the building and discovered that a majority preferred to have the student visitation take place the day before the testing program was to begin. As a result, she re-schedules the visitation according to the majority's wishes.

Repeatedly, Mrs. P was observed to extend herself beyond the minimal requirements of her job. She took work home, she followed-up on phone calls, she wrote numerous inter-office memoranda, she kept abreast of the myriad of details of district and school site programs. Her busyness, though exhausting, did not seem to be neurotic or unrelated to specific aspects of district programs and policies. Rather, she appeared to be simply working very hard to fulfill both her own and senior administrators' views of what the job required.

3. Language Usage.

The third striking feature of our data on Mrs. P is her use of language. Her conversations with our observer, with teachers, and especially with other administrators was frequently witty, liberally peppered with slang expressions, and a bit cynical in tone. As mentioned above, at the end of an arduous day, she says,

> How time flies when you're having fun.

A little later she is talking with her assistant principal, who says,

> "This has really been some day." Mrs. P responds, "Another day of excellence, right?!"

Other examples include:

> (To her secretary carrying a stack of supplies): "It's not in your job description to hurt yourself."
>
> (On the phone to the central office): "Okay, you'll be hearing from me, babe."
>
> (To the United Parcel man): "Have you got a million dollars for me in the box?" The UPS man responds, "I sure hope so." Mrs. P, "We can split it."
>
> (Responding to an interview question on teacher evaluations): "(sometimes) you have got the one where you are just laying it on the line and saying, 'Baby, I'm documenting you.'"

This language is clearly intended to create an atmosphere of informality and good humor. And it conveys a sense of Mrs. P's authority and spontaneity in relation to the various staff members.

In sum: Mrs. P is the only one of our principals ever to say, "I am a management person, and that is what determines my time." In both attitude and work style, she fulfills the definition of management offered by Krajewski, Martin, and Walden (1980:9) who, define management as,

> working with and through people -- both individually and in groups -- to accomplish organizational goals. . . . Management functions include planning, organizing, motivating and controlling. . .

When considering how to improve instruction, Mrs. P gives primary emphasis to in-service training for her staff, which she reports is "a real biggy" in her repertoire of principalship strategies.

CONTRADICTIONS IN MRS. P's MANAGERIAL STYLE

Two discontinuities or contradictions are especially apparent in Mrs. P's handling of her principalship duties. Both concern her relationships with teachers. One is related to the ways in which she tries to influence the adoption of various instructional goals and techniques, the other is seen in her attempts to create bonds of trust and mutual respect with individual teachers.

1. Establishing a Presence versus Enforcing Standards.

Despite expansive and detailed discussions of teaching techniques and repeated assertions that she has "pressured" some teachers to adopt specific program goals, teaching techniques or performance standards, when Mrs. P routinely encounters the teachers in her building she is primarily concerned to establish a "presence" and to communicate her interest and support for them rather than to interpret or enforce job performance standards. A typical example of this behavior pattern is shown in an observational protocol which reports:

> She indicated that it was time for her to go and visit classes, so we left her office and started toward the classrooms. "I'm not here a lot, so I like to go through the classes so the kids get to see me. It also lowers teachers' anxiety when you go in to do teacher evaluations."

After visiting several classrooms, our observer notes:

> None of the classroom visits were very long — they were just as long as necessary to establish that things were OK (or not OK).

There are at least two reasons for this disconnection between her professed orientation and her actual behavior. The first is practical. The simple fact is that in the ordinary course of events Mrs. P is just not able to spend enough time with any one teacher to be able to clearly judge whether appropriate teaching techniques are being competently utilized and adequately adapted to the unique features of a particular classroom or lesson. Given the complexity and variety of the tasks teachers are required to perform, the teacher/principal ratio in the typical public school is entirely too large to permit effective implementation of the management approach to the principalship. Both Mrs. P and her teachers know that she cannot observe them often enough or under enough different circumstances to easily distinguish incompetent or inappropriate teaching techniques from temporary disruptions or the introduction of innovations in the classroom.

The second reason for this contradiction in Mrs. P's behavior is more theoretical. In order to effectively implement a managerial approach to the oversight of instruction a principal would need more than just the opportunity to observe teachers coping with a wide variety of classroom circumstances and student needs. They would also need an adequate theory of teaching which could provide them with a template for explicitly assessing whether teachers are performing required tasks effectively and at appropriate times. Without such a theory for rationalizing expectations principals would be forced to rely on assessing teachers' intentions rather than their actual performances. No such theory of instruction can be found in the data collected from Mrs. P. Although she has a better sense of instructional theory than any of the other principals in our sample — a theory derived in large measure from the work of UCLA professor Madeline Hunter — she is still compelled to acknowledge:

> As a principal I should be able to go into the classroom and see if the teacher is teaching a lesson — whether she's using the elements of good lesson design or not. . . .(but) we haven't really developed a standardized format for doing it. I worked with (the associate superintendent) and came up with different elements that I want to include in all of my evaluations.

Thus, while Mrs. P knows that she needs a theory of instruction in order to evaluate teacher performance, she also knows that her current ideas about good lesson elements are not yet adequately developed and do not make standardized, comprehensive evaluations of all teachers possible.

2. "Stroking" an Alienated Staff.

Mrs. P devotes a substantial amount of time and attention to what she calls "stroking" her staff. She writes inter-office memoranda to compliment those with whom she is pleased, she stops by the teachers' lounge to socialize, she talks over the feelings and attitudes of various staff members with her assistant principal in order to find better ways to establish adequate relationships with them. Her feelings in this area are perhaps best summarized in the following remarks made about her relationship to one of the teachers whom we studied:

> I think maybe part of it is developing some trust. A lot of the teachers here had no more confidence in me than a hole in the wall. N. . . (the teacher in question), I think, has begun to feel some element of confidence, or trust, or security, or whatever you want to call it, so far as my work is concerned and how I will respond to things and back her up.

Mrs. P goes on to describe, in some detail, how their joint efforts to cope with one particularly difficult student helped to produce these feelings of trust.

As reported earlier, however, despite this apparent commitment to the development of trust, Mrs. P finds herself substantially estranged from most members of her faculty. The reasons for this estrangement provide important insights into why a managerial approach to the principalship has real limits. The lack of teacher trust for Mrs. P springs from two basic sources. First, because she thinks of herself as a "management person" and spends at least half her time working for and with district level administrators, her teachers are a bit fearful that Mrs. P does not give them the unqualified loyalty and support which would justify the trust and confidence which she expects them to give. Some are anxious that she might be willing to impose arbitrary work standards or force the adoption of inappropriate instructional techniques if district administrators asked her to do so. This anxiety was exacerbated during the year of our study by several weeks of tense labor negotiations during which teachers were challenged by both managers and teacher organization leaders to think about which side they would be on if a strike were called. In fact, the teachers most active in the teachers union were also the ones least responsive to Mrs. P's "stroking" efforts.

A second, and more fundamental cause of this contradiction lies in Mrs. P's failure to fully understand the differences between rewards and incentives in motivating teachers. Mrs. P has a tendency to "stroke" teachers by sending them notes, praising them publicly, giving them pleasant assignments, or allowing them to attend various in-service training programs. She does not seem to recognize, however, that these rewards are rather weak when compared with those controlled by the students (i.e. student achievement and student warmth and cooperation). Nor does she appear to recognize that teachers are guided more by incentives embedded in the overall culture of the school than by those rooted in personal relationships with individual managers or other co-workers. Thus Mrs. P mistakenly hopes to offset her frequent criticisms of school programs and teacher performances through the development of warm personal relationships of trust and understanding with individual teachers. Such a strategy cannot work because the teachers inevitably sense Mrs. P's respect for skilled teaching and her own suspicion of warmth and cooperativeness which is not grounded on competence and dedication to effective task performance. Nowhere is her dedication to competence more explicit than in her evaluation of a fellow principal of whom she said,

> "You can't count on (him) at all. He used to be a team leader. . . I had a purchase order that I needed him to sign; he said: 'No problem, I will have it done right away.'" Mrs. P said that it wasn't until 3 days later that she got the thing put through. She also seemed to indicate that this was just one case of many."

THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORK ORIENTATION: THE CASE OF MR. Q

Mr. Q sees his job as time structured. When asked to describe his typical work responsibilities, he began with:

> Maybe I just should start with Monday and go from there. . .

Through the course of the rest of his answer, given from memory and covering his most recent week's work, he made 21 specific references to particular hours of the day during which events occurred. And he gave an additional 9 indirect references to equally specific times (such as, "today I started out", "during the lunch period", etc.).

In responding to a question about whether he has control over his job, however, he replied:

> That's a hard question. . . .I have some control there as to how I will spend my time, but the demands also control the time, so I feel that, "Yes," I do have some control in terms of my own time and my structure. But there are other events that happen just throughout the course of the day that I have no control over and which then take over control of my time, and I am not very good at saying, "No." I am very accessible and available.

Mr. Q sees his work responsibilities much more in terms of the planning and organization of programs than of supervising or "role modeling" appropriate teacher behavior. Asked how he makes a contribution to instruction at his school, he says:

> In this particular school it is through planning and through organization. In terms of delivering actual role modeling of instruction, I do very little of that. . . .I guess I think that the principalship has changed, that you are more of a

> manager in terms of personnel. In terms of operation and instruction that is why we are here. But the demands that are on my time frequently leave little opportunity to be actually involved in modeling of instruction.

The above passage contains Mr. Q's only reference to the term management. It is clear he sees mangagement as a personnel rather than a programatic concept. Mr. Q sees himself as planning and organizing programs, as facilitating smooth functioning of the school, and as securing the cooperation of teachers. He fits closely Owens' (1970:126,7) description of the administrative role:

> Administration is concerned with the smooth operation of an organization, here, the school. In his role as administrator, the principal facilitates the use of established procedures and structures to help the organization achieve its goals. Administrators are properly concerned with maintaining the organization, with keeping its interrelated parts functioning smoothly, and with monitoring the orderly processes that have been established to get things accomplished.

Mr. Q talks about leadership only twice in his interviews. The first time is in reference to the basis of his own evaluation by central office superiors. Of his immediate supervisor, he says,

> He looks for leadership, responsibility, and program development. (He looks at) what role I play in developing the A-127's (program planning documents), program articulation, communication with staff, students and community. Whether the instructional delivery system is designed to increase student performance and achievement in language arts, specifically in oral and written expression and spelling. The way I evaluate certificated personnel. The methods used to carry out district adopted proficiency requirements. Leadership in compensatory education to promote student support and community participation in district desegregation and integration programs.

The other occasion on which Mr. Q talks about leadership is when he is discussing what teachers expect of him. He says:

> I think they want leadership. I think they also want changes, at times, when it is impossible for me to deliver.

Asked for examples, he continues,

> I think that sometimes teachers would like to think that principals could change extremely difficult kids into model children and, of course, I can't do that. I can work with them to bring about change, but it is not going to be over night. It is probably not going to be all that dramatic either.

Indeed, in the next breath, Mr. Q expresses the view that teachers probably don't really want this kind of leadership anyway. He says,

> I think that they want someone to be caring and to be sociable with them, and I don't mean necessarily socializing after hours, but be friendly, and I work at that.

He is not even sure that these demands for friendly socializing are entirely justified, however. As he puts it,

> I guess I would say that the commmunications are a two way matter. And there are some days that are really very rushed, a lot of demands and sometimes I might not be as relaxed at that particular moment as I would like to be.

The tone of these remarks reflects Mr. Q's belief that he is responsible for developing programs aimed at reaching district-wide goals and objectives. Generally speaking he sees program development in logistical rather than technical terms. His view of leadership does not involve the "visionary" or "motivational" dimensions identified by Sergiovanni, et al. (1980) as fundamental to this concept. Nor does it carry overtones of developing innovative new approaches to teaching. His use of the term leadership connotes a responsibility for being the first one in his organization to get things done right — as might be implied if one talked about being a company's "leading sales representative". Mr. Q does not fit well into Owens' (1970:127) definition of leaders. Owens says that,

> Leaders initiate change in the organization: changes in either its goals or the way the organization tries to achieve its goals. . . .In other words, leaders tend to be 'disruptive of the existing state of affairs.'. . . .the behavior of leaders is probably governed more by broader, cosmopolitan personal goals than is the behavior of administrators.

His departure from Owen's description of leadership is nowhere more evident than in Mr. Q's discussion of how he gets cooperation from teachers. He says,

> Well, I think that's a matter of, if they feel that I am approachable, if I am available, accessible to them. And I try to be that. I also try to listen and hear and to be amiable. But yet I feel that there are certain decisions that I have to make and I am sorry if not everyone agrees, but I will make those decisions.

Mr. Q sees his role as a passive, coping and supportive one aimed at facilitating rather than directing the work of teachers. He says of himself, for example,

> I guess that the thing that I feel that I have skills in is that I am a good listener and that once someone is really upset (and I had one yesterday) I listen but I hold firm with what I

> have done, because I make my decisions recognizing that there might be differences of opinion on it. So I tend to remain calm, particularly when I am working with parents, but if need be I will be firm. I try never to be abrasive.

Not only does Mr. Q not like to be abrasive himself, he reports that the part of his work which he finds most distasteful is working with a,

> difficult staff, where you feel that you really work at trying to communicate and you are sapped. Some kids getting treated unfairly, and you are caught. . . you try to help. . . in certain situations you have got to support that teacher, but you know that if she or he had used different tactics or better judgment. . .

When discussing how he is able to offer rewards and incentives to teachers he again offers a fairly passive view of his role:

> I tell them personally when I feel they have done a real good job. . . I try to stroke. . . .

Somewhat more actively, he indicates that he sometimes uses more objective rewards:

> I have had some control in terms of who goes to particular in-services and sometimes I use that, because a person has really done an excellent job and is interested in growing professionally . . . teachers that I felt were really working hard and needed recognition and an opportunity to grow professionally, (I) provide the opportunity for them to visit other schools or to go to workshops, that sort of thing. We haven't had the money to do that this year, but I have done that in the past.

The emphasis, here, is clearly on maintaining a smooth functioning unit — not on re-tooling the personnel or redirecting the organization's operations.

Although he views most responsibilities programatically, Mr. Q's view of the children in his school is given a highly personalistic tone. He says,

> I know this is going to sound like an old cliche, but I feel that working with students is a very definite part of my job that's important to me as a person. I realize that it's very significant and important in terms of working with staff. . . but it is important to me to be involved with kids, to be out where the action is.

In observing Mr. Q, we noted three important features of his work style which distinguish him from principals holding a less administrative view of their roles.

1. Student Behavior Problems.

First, a disproportionate amount of Mr. Q's time is taken up with student behavior problems which arise almost constantly throughout his typical day. In part this is due to the size and make-up of his school -- the largest in our sample. But it is also because Mr. Q views student discipline as a very important part of his job and is willing to interrupt other matters in order to respond immediately to requests for help with troubled or troublesome children.

2. The Nature of his Presence.

Like all principals, Mr. Q moves around the building and grounds of the school quite frequently. He displays his commitment to playing a supportive role, however, by the way he presents himself in various places. For example, Mr. Q typically eats his lunch early so that,

> When lunch begins he can go and help get trays out in the cafeteria. The design of the cafeteria is such that it is hard for many of the smaller children to reach the trays when they are pushed through, so Mr. Q stands there and keeps moving them through for the children.

Thus, rather than develop a solution for this technical problem, Mr. Q takes the occasion to make himself useful to the children and to visibly demonstrate his willingness to be supportive and responsive to their needs.

3. Scheduling Problems.

Mr. Q encounters a continuous stream of scheduling problems. These problems involve demands for his own time and attention, but they are also reflected in his need to make decisions about program activities, teacher conferences, and meetings with other administrators. He is the only principal whom we observed to move or cancel more than one appointment or who arrived late for more than one meeting in the course of his work day.

CONTRADICTIONS IN MR. Q's ADMINISTRATIVE STYLE

We noted three important contradictions in Mr. Q's administrative style. Two of them concern limitations on his ability to control events which he believes to be central to his work. The third concerns the contrast between his interest in programs and his interest in children.

1. Responsiblity without Power.

The most obvious contradiction in Mr. Q's principalship is his extremely limited capacity to effectively structure programs and secure teacher cooperation. His was the only school in which a teacher whom he had asked to cooperate with our project refused to participate in order to demonstrate her low regard for his authority. He had the greatest difficulty with teacher organization activists among our principals. And he reported the least direct impact on the ways in which teachers define or execute their work responsibilities. Thus, despite his apparent commitment to administrative program development, Mr. Q found his power to secure cooperation from teachers quite limited.

To some extent this contradiction should be viewed as a matter of Mr. Q's own personal weaknesses. To a much larger degree, however, it reflects a theoretical contradiction within the administrative approach to the principalship. By assuming that teachers are professional workers — responsible for the organization of their own work — Mr. Q renders his own work relatively unimportant. If teaching activities were more specialized administration would be more important. Indeed, it is with the specialist Resource Teachers that Mr. Q spends most of his planning and organizing time.

2. Leadership without Vision.

A second obvious contradiction in Mr. Q's administrative style is his attempt to provide leadership without having an adequate vision of the mission of the school. His concern with problems of leadership are confined largely to meeting the expectations of central office executives, yet he shows little evidence of having internalized these expectations. Thus he seems to be always trying to get his staff to meet goals and pursue projects which are not really his own.

This contradiction springs largely from the fact that, as Charters (1965) has noted, schooling is not a particularly specialized industry. The sort of leadership which Mr. Q envisions for himself is important only when individual workers cannot know how their own efforts are expected to contribute to the overall productivity of an organization. Moreover, by assuming that teachers are professionals, responsible for defining and controlling their own work performances, Mr. Q vitiates the little administrative leadership that would otherwise appear to be needed in the unspecialized work of elementary school teaching.

3. Personalistic Relationships and Planned Programs.

The third important contradiction in Mr. Q's administrative style is his desire for personalized, affectively warm relationships with teachers and students while insisting that rational planning and affectively neutral organization are the bases of effective educational programs. He sounds, for example, like an executive decision maker in a classic bureaucracy when he says,

> I would like very much to have 4-hour aides (for each teacher), but, curriculum wise, we need two resource teachers. Now their time is negotiable and we'll look and see, do we want them doing remedial work? We operate a math lab. . . (and) we may have to say (the lab teacher) needs to do more remediation and work more directly with children. That may be true of the reading resource teacher also. But the two positions are not negotiable. That is a decision I am having to make. My parents support me in that, I think some teachers do — but some do not.

When asked what he enjoys most about his job, however, he does not talk about taking pride in the effectiveness of this sort of tough decision. Rather, he says,

> The thing that I enjoy most. . . (is) working with teachers that really are enjoying what they are doing. And then I enjoy the kids too.

Mr. Q was genuinely anguished by this contradiction between what he enjoys and what he feels is necessary. He frequently felt impelled by district policy or budgetary necessity to make decisions which strained relationships with various members of the staff. And he was truly distressed by a running battle with several teacher organization activists on his faculty.

This contradiction is, we suspect, fairly widespread among older and more experienced elementary school principals. It appears to reflect the disruptive impact of recent developments such as specialized teaching roles, categorical programs, and innovative curricula which have substantially increased the organizational complexity of the traditionally patrimonial, extended-family atmosphere of many elementary schools.

Mr. Q's administrative style requires the presumption that teachers are capable of truly professional work roles. He can succeed in creating the warm, communal ties with which he is comfortable only if he can a) trust the teachers to take full responsibility for the quality of their own work, and b) view himself as a supporter and facilitator rather than evaluator and director of their efforts. When innovations and program demands are being thrust upon the schools by public policy makers who are suspicious that educators have failed to produce either equity of opportunity or excellence of outcomes, administrators are forced to do more than offer organizational and moral support to a largely autonomous faculty. Mr. Q's anguish, and the resulting contradiction in his work result from the collapse of the professional aspirations for teacher work roles which captivated the attention of many administrators during the 1940's and 50's.

THE PRINCIPAL AS LEADER: THE CASE OF MR. R

Our third principal, Mr. R, is somewhat more difficult to interpret. He is the only Hispanic principal in our sample (one of two in the district). Mr. R serves two small, predominantly Hispanic elementary schools. The school in our sample has a visibly lower income clientele than his other school. We observed him at both schools as he tends to divide his time each day spending mornings at the more affluent school and afternoons at the sample school.

Mr. R's data is a bit hard to interpret because he tended to turn observation time into a sort of "guided tour" of school life as he thought we ought to see it, and because his interview responses were frequently colored by a tendency to give little lectures about an idealized view of his work rather than open discussions of the actual issues and events which he confronted. For example, when asked about a typical work week, he replied:

> With two schools it's about a 24 hour job. It keeps you busy.

> I probably average 10 to 12 hours a day. In a typical week I average those hours, plus I probably have at least two night meetings of some kind, either school advisory committee, PTA, or something. That's a typical week.

Trying to get a little closer to his daily routine, we asked, "What duties are characteristic of the typical week?" which elicited the following reply:

> Everything, everything that goes on in a school. From staff development, dealing with teachers and aides to parent communications, to discipline problems, plus the normal reporting. The school principal is involved in everything that goes on in a school.

Probing again for a clearer picture, we asked, "Does your job change at different times of the year, or is it just the same job all the time?" to which he replied:

> No. I am assigned for the full year. It doesn't change. We normally are assigned at the end of the year. Usually in the spring time. This year they held it up because of the school closure issue.

Interview difficulties like this are compounded by Mr. R's tendency to treat our observer as a guest who needs to be given little homilies about everything that is taking place during the observation period. At 7:45 one morning, for example, our observer reports going to the playground with Mr. R and then reports:

> He stood to greet the kids as they came on campus. The kids were very glad to see Mr. R, not a single child walked by without saying "good morning." Most of them came up and gave him a hug. The kindergarteners gave Mr. R the special kindergarten handshake. For the males, grades 1-6, he would give them "high-five." Later, Mr. R played a clapping game with a song with four of the girls. Mr. R greeted kids everywhere and where he is the kids are.

In typical form, the protocol then continues:

> Mr. R told me that it is very helpful for him to be out on the grounds where the kids are, because he finds things out that could develop into problems between kids. Mr. R says a lot of problems are prevented this way.

Some of our difficulty in gaining access to Mr. R's cultural meaning system might be the result of inexperience on the part of our field observers. (Unfortunately, we had a personnel change affecting continuity in observations and interviews with Mr. R). For the most part, however, these difficulties spring directly form Mr. R's views regarding schooling, teaching, and his role as a principal.

"Atmosphere" is the key term in Mr. R's approach to his work. When asked about how he could tell if he is being successful, he put this key term in context, saying:

> You can feel it from the atmosphere at the school. You can feel it in different ways. You know you are being successful if there is discipline. You know you are being successful if there is a fair amount of parent participation, and you know you are being successful if your scores on students are on the move, or improving. You know you are being successful if these things are happening. . . The teachers tell you, teachers keep you posted if it's going good or not.

This theme recurs several times in his discussions of teachers and students. Of his teachers, he says:

> They appear to be very comfortable working under me, I guess you would say. They have a very, very relaxed feeling, so I guess this is what a teacher really looks for, to work under a relaxed atmosphere.

Or again, in talking about his role in providing teachers with rewards, he says:

> I guess the best way is to constantly reinforce the teachers. You know, a pat on their back if they are doing a good job. I think that's the best way. Then, of course, teachers are evaluated every two years, so they look forward to this evaluation -- sometimes as a fear type of thing -- but then when they receive it, if this reinforcement has been going, it's a real happy feeling.

And, in another interview several months earlier, he said of his school,

> N. . . . is an up and coming school where there are a lot of positive signs of academic achievement. This leads to a sense of enthusiasm by the staff.

Or again,

> There is a high level of team spirit here. I think that my attitudes affect the staff very positively.

Mr. R's commitment to providing students with what he views as an appropriate atmosphere shows through in his typical opening remarks when counseling a student who has been referred to him for non-cooperation in a choral music class:

> "You're not in trouble. I am just worried about you. You know I think pretty highly of you. Now think for just a minute. . . what kind of bad habits do you have. . . can you tell me?. . . (pause). . . Well, you're stubborn aren't

> you? Can you tell me another weakness you have?" The kid said: "Well, let me see." Mr. R then said: "I may be wrong, but I think I know you pretty well — I think you always want to be first."

Mr. R then went over the "three things that are most important at this school." They are 1) "pride", 2) "hard work", and 3) "happiness."

Throughout his dealing with this student, as with everyone we observed, he stressed the importance of social obligations -- ending the session with:

> "Now is the time to set your habits -- now there are people who depend on you and you can't be proud and happy if you let people down. And I know you wouldn't let me down on purpose. My boss tells me to do things and I don't want to do them, but I do them anyway because I don't want to let my boss down. Now after our talk I can't let you do this any more. If you don't think you can sing, then just move your mouth, then everybody will be able to participate without worrying why you're not singing. I only want to help you. Talk to your Mom about this, I know you can do it and you won't let me down." Mr. R gave the boy "high-five" and he left.

After the boy was gone, Mr. R turned to our observer to interpret his actions with,

> "You have to leave them a way out — have to let them get out with dignity."

This emphasis on atmosphere is given formal expression in Mr. R's discussion of how his role is differentiated from that of his assistant principal. The assistant principal, he says,

> is mostly in charge of parent groups and instruction at the school.

Whereas, Mr. R considers his own role to be concerned primarily with "staff management and counseling." He elaborates,

> I let the staff take care of instruction the way they want, this is what works out best for the program.

Mr. R's concentration on atmosphere also leads him to concentrate on keeping in touch with the feelings of staff and students. In addition to the playground surveillance described earlier, this concentration is revealed in the frequency with which he moves in and out of classrooms. He also says,

> In a large district like ours we have way too many meetings. You can't do a job if you are away from your building. You have got to be at your building. So in the last few years I guess I have been selecting the meetings that I attend. I

> can't attend them all and still do a good job, especially with two schools. I put a premium on being at the school site.

He reports that,

> In my particular style I am in and out of all of the classrooms so I know what's going on and, from that sense, I can make a lot of referrals to teachers to either put program development or individual help in — so I'm on top of everything.

And when asked about the most unpleasant aspects of his job, he continues to reveal a concern with the establishment of a relaxed atmosphere, saying that,

> Usually the most unpleasant things are unsupportive parents, or parents that come in barking at the principal for things that kids have done, sort of defending wrong. . .

He sums up his views, saying,

> I'm a humanist, and under that system, it's a very happy, relaxed atmosphere — so I'm pretty comfortable with that.

And,

> I always operate on a team approach. Everyone is part of the ball team.

Because atmosphere is so important to Mr. R it is easy for him to feel that,

> We have too many programs in this school. I am basically a reading, writing and math type and I believe that with a strong basic program you don't need any new programs. Because we have way too many, they don't give them a chance for success. If you are meeting success at a school, why change? Keep doing what you are doing if you are meeting success. You don't need new programs.

He clearly feels that, despite the fact that this is a low achieving school, success is present in the form of enthusiastic and dedicated staff efforts.

This concentration on staff enthusiasm as the criterion for school success means that when he is doing teacher evaluation Mr. R should concentrate on positive rather than negative aspects of each teacher's work. As he puts it,

> Basically my evaluation is to write up the strength of that teacher.

Believing so firmly in the importance of atmosphere, Mr. R treats every social contact with students and staff members as an occasion to build feelings of cooperation, loyalty, and enthusiasm. This, he believes, will result in an effective school program. He even treated our interviewers and observers as people to be incorporated into this atmospheric system.

There are, of course, some problems with this atmospheric strategy. First, it requires Mr. R to maintain a kind of energetic, enthusiastic, problem-denying facade so that he can present himself as the originating source of what he hopes will be a set of contagious good feelings. Consequently, he only praises the strengths of teachers -- overlooking or denying the existence of weaknesses. And, while achievement scores in the school are in the bottom 2 or 3 percent on national norms, he takes an upbeat view saying that these scores are "on the move" and "progressing upward." While this attitude might be really helpful to staff and students, it leads Mr. R to respond to queries about problem areas with the vague assertion that,

> There are some problems. I couldn't name any at this point, but there are problems that never get solved, but I can't pinpoint any.

One suspects that this is more than just an atmospheric manipulation to encourage our interviewer to concentrate on positive aspects of the school. This remark probably betrays Mr. R's own tendency to suppress any awareness of potential problems in order to keep them from dampening his enthusiasm and making him negative about atmospheric conditions. But the result, no doubt, is that Mr. R finds himself always "putting out grass-fires" at the school because,

> There's always a backlog of problems by the time he gets to <the sample school> from <his morning school>.

He rationalizes these problems, attributing them to the socio-economic conditions of the children, saying,

> A lot are from broken families and don't get nearly as much affection as they need.

Additionally, the atmospheric thrust leads Mr. R to see district level management primarily as a major source of pressure on his principalship. Responding to a question about the most important sources of job pressures, he says,

> From downtown, all the reporting and time-lines that we have to meet, those are the pressures. You have to get in a report this Thursday and they let you know like Tuesday, that type of thing, so those are very unpleasant pressures, I guess.

Mr. R recognizes that his style is not going to lead him to higher management positions. He sums up his feeling about his job with,

> I enjoy it. I tell everyone that the site principal is the only

> way to go. You can't do what you want to do unless you become a principal. I would never think of going to the central office, this is where the ball game is.

Mr. R's emphasis on site level atmospheric conditions is not widely appreciated by central office managers. Mrs. O articulates, rather harshly, feelings about Mr. R which we heard from others when she said,

> Mr. R's people orientation is better viewed as "here's a piece of candy, we'll talk about it later."

Though Mr. R's execution is not always sophisticated, his approach to the principalship represents an important option for school executives. He embodies the visionary and symbolic approach to organizational control which Sergiovanni, et al. (1980), Owens (1970), and Ouchi (1980) equate with leadership. His concentration on the "atmosphere" of the school, the "enthusiasm" of staff, and the "pride", "hard work" and "happiness" of the students reflects a belief that intentions, efforts, and feelings — rather than program structures or teaching techniques -- are the key ingredients in school success. It would be easy to criticize Mr. R's psychological manipulation of students, his tendency to ignore teacher shortcomings and programmatic inefficiencies, but it is more important to recognize that these are the most likely points of ineffectiveness for anyone who tries to stimulate and encourage rather than organize, supervise, or direct subordinates. Moreover, an individual with more expansive skills and a better sense of the specific requirements of good teaching could probably utilize Mr. R's style in ways that would yield a far more effective channelling of teacher and student energies.

CONTRADICTIONS IN MR. R's STYLE

The most obvious and distressing contradiction in Mr. R's approach to the principalship is the persistent tension between his professed interest in a relaxed, friendly, open and cooperative atmosphere which contrasts with his tendency to manipulate the feelings of both students and teachers by appealing to their sense of social obligation and loyalty. He acts as if relaxation could be produced while maintaining social distance between himself and others. His physical presence is intense, his verbal and physical contact with children expansive, and friendly dialogue with teachers quite evident, but he attempts to impose his own enthusiasm and sense of commitment on others rather than allowing them to develop their own. This process is easily recognized in his way of relating to our research team. He interprets, but does not disclose, the interior space of his own cultural meaning system. In the same way, he concentrates on student and teacher cooperation and overt attitudes rather than attending to their teaching and learning activities.

This contradiction appears to be the direct result of Mr. R's belief that he personally must originate the good feelings which he believes are the source of adequate motivation and rewards for teachers. By believing that the appearance of success is the starting point for high performance, he is forced into pretense and away from the analysis of issues and problems in his school.

THE PRINCIPAL AS SUPERVISOR: THE CASE OF MRS. S

Our fourth principal, Mrs. S, is a black woman in her second year as principal of a predominately black elementary school. In addition to her responsibilities as a principal, she is a team leader for the district's court-ordered desegregation (D&I) program. The combination of categorical programs at this school and her D&I responsibilities means that she has three essentially full-time classified employees under her immediate supervision: the regular school secretary, a community aide, and the D&I program secretary. She also has regular interaction with a teaching assistant principal and two resource teachers. The site also has the services of a counselor, speech and hearing specialist, a half-time learning disabilities teacher, two part-time music teachers and a part-time psychologist with whom Mrs. S works less closely. Her office is positioned in such a way that the regular school secretary and the D&I secretary are accessible through different doors.

A little time spent in her office quickly highlights differences between the work style of this principal and those of the others in our sample. There is more paper shuffling in this office as D&I projects compete for attention and decision making time with the usual flow of student, teacher and parent visitations to the school office. Unique among the principals we observed, Mrs. S keeps her calendar on a large chalk board prominantly displayed in her office. Meetings, deadlines, and other important events are noted on this chalkboard for anyone who enters the office to see.

The general impression conveyed by this office is that of a job-shop in which projects are constantly being scheduled, worked-on, and completed. Mrs. S, who serves as the shop foreman, concerns herself with whether work is properly scheduled and whether the workers are attending to their responsibilities in ways that keep the shop running smoothly. Her two secretaries are trusted lieutenants in this process — providing information, pursuing details, and following up on projects in progress. The extent of her trust for the D&I secretary is revealed in the following exerpt from an observation protocol:

> Before she leaves the office Mrs. S checks in with the D&I secretary again and asks: "Do you have the letter all done?" "Yes." "Why don't you type it up then, so we can see what it will look like?" This is a letter that Mrs. S has been dictating to parents concerning the special programs. She dictates the main body of information and then lets the secretary fill in accordingly. She and the D&I secretary work together off and on all day, and from an outsider's view, it appears they have an excellent relationship here. To a degree Mrs. S depends on this secretary to use her own judgment in doing some of these things. She gives her the basic outline of what needs to go into it and then the secretary is permitted to have some degree of creativity in writing such a letter.

This same trusting relationship is revealed when she talks to the regular secretary about a substitute who will be taking over the teaching assignment of her assistant principal for a couple of days. Early in the morning, before many staff members have arrived, the secretary comes into her office on another matter and the following exchange takes place:

> Mrs. S asks about the substitute scheduled to arrive that morning, "Does he look strong or am I going to be in for a very rough day?" The secretary responds: "Well, he has subbed at the high school for the last three months." Mrs. S says, "I guess I had better make a trip down to the classroom. I think I had better see what he looks like and get <the assistant principal's> impression."

A little later she says,

> We don't need any interruptions from that class today.

Mrs. S's close working relationship with the secretarial staff extends to her community aide and her assistant principal. Her relationships with several teachers and with numerous students stand in rather marked contrast to this close-knit office staff, however. The following remarks — sounding a bit strong because they are here taken out of context — reflect an underlying tone of social distance between Mrs. S the staff and student body of her school. In a general way, she says,

> Being a principal means that you've gotta be the mommy most of the time — or the daddy — you've gotta be a know-it-all, you've gotta have the answer to everybody's problem, including teachers and anybody who comes through here. Most of the teachers are just like children, they tattle on each other.

In more specific terms, she says of one teacher,

> If I let her, N. . . will teach to the absolute minimum. So I have to know what she is planning to do. What kind of order they will be working on to obtain their goals. Some people seem to jump around from here to there and the learning process gets all mixed up.

Of another she says,

> "Mrs. N. . . is sure to need help. She doesn't understand at all. She needs help just to stoop. We are going to have to hold her hand and baby here through because she is going to have to do it." Mrs. S's voice and demeanor show her frustration and anger as she talks about dealing with Mrs. N. . .

Of substitute teachers she says,

> Substitu [illegible] oblems with most of the classes in the district — [illegible], some of the substitutes that the schools

> get are very poor specimens.

And of a janitor who does not want to set up the furniture for a special program at the school, our observer reports,

> Mrs. S is most unhappy with him. She informs me that he is being lazy.

The direct, almost belligerent, manner reflected in these remarks should not be taken to mean that Mrs. S fails to respect the rights of employees. In fact, as the following episode clearly demonstrates, she has a very high regard for employee rights and is just as aggressive in defending those rights as she is in criticizing staff members who are lax or incompetent. She was trying to arrange a luncheon meeting with teachers from another school. The secretary from that school calls to say that the teachers are not permitted to leave the campus during the lunch hour. Our protocol picks up the story:

> Mrs. S informs the secretary to tell them they certainly can get off. They have a duty free lunch and they are free to leave the school for that luncheon if they wish. The person at the other end of the phone implies that the principal of the other school will have a fit if they do this. Mrs. S's response about the other principal's attitude towards teacher lunches is that "He's a . . . .,anyway." She feels as though <the other principal> is probably making those teachers' lives miserable. She goes on to talk about the fact that those teachers have a right to a duty free, playground free, lunch. It's part of the contract and he has no business trying to give them a hard time about it. It is obvious that Mrs. S does not object to the idea that the teachers' lunch time is their own.

This belief in the fundamental rights of teachers is accompanied, in Mrs. S's mind, with a belief that they need to be given very explicit, almost legalistic, directives about what is expected of them in their jobs. In talking about what to send out in a bulletin to teachers regarding materials covered in a recent staff meeting, she says to her assistant principal,

> "Put it in print so the teachers can't say, 'We didn't hear about it,' or 'Did we talk about that?'"

And the piece which she then dictates to go into the bulletin reflects the general tone of her relationships with many students. It said, in effect,

> We've been working with a lot of kids lately who have been disrespectful of adults — they probably need to be counseled — there might be more than we're aware of, so be sure to let us know about any additional instances so that we can support you. We can't do anything about it if we don't know about it.

This tone is reflected in her playground surveillance behavior. On one occasion she remarks to our observer about her playground duty,

> One teacher and I usually come out to make sure there's no pushing. There are normally very few problems.

Within a few minutes, however, she,

> Chewed out a little girl for not coming in when the bell rang.

And,

> On the way back to the office she spoke to a couple more about "getting to class" and hurrying up with milk.

On another occasion, she heads for the playground with the remark that,

> I think I'll go outside and supervise the troops.

Once on the playground, our observer reports,

> Various children are walking far too fast for her and she tells them to slow down. She calls to two children that are running and also tells them to walk.

In the class where the substitute teacher whom she discussed with the secretary is about to take over, she says that,

> she expects them to behave and does not want to have any of them sent to the office. She states that she knows they can behave and she doesn't see it necessary for them to try to give the substitute a hard time.

To a group of children about to leave the campus to attend a play performance, she says that,

> If they cut up at the play she will come and get them. She does not expect them to misbehave in any way but she has her car and she'll be happy to take them from the scene.

Back on the playground, on still another occasion, she

> Takes a position close to the basketball area. Mrs. S states that most often it is in the area of basketball playing that a fight may arise during play. One student is apt to decide that someone else took his shot and that's where a fight can occur.

As the bell rings, Mrs. S blows her whistle and says to the students,

> "Come on, let's go." She has to speak to a half dozen people

> or so about moving along. She calls each of them by name. There's no "Hey you!", the children who are dawdling she knows and calls directly. The students line up and the teachers come and get them to take them back to class.

This extensive concern with orderly behavior and student discipline certainly has some justification. We observed more than one student altercation on the playground of this school. And Mrs. S has at least one teacher whose ability to maintain classroom order is exceedingly weak. In this classroom, our observation protocol for one early afternoon reads:

> At 12:51 Mrs. S stops in at Mrs. N. . . 's classroom. Mrs. N. . . is having some problems getting the class to be orderly and attentive. Mrs. S stands there for a few minutes as Mrs. N. . . repeatedly tells them it is time to sit and be quiet. Mrs. S booms forth with "I don't hear anyone paying attention to me or Mrs. N. . . She shouldn't have to tell you that every afternoon." She's referring to their sitting down and getting in order. After Mrs. S speaks, the class is very quiet and attentive. We then leave.

Mrs. S's firm, assertive manner is not always directed toward students and teachers. When one of her aides is taken home ill, Mrs. S arranges for her sixth grade daughter to be sent home from school to care for her. She then calls the family doctor's office. At this point, our protocol reports,

> Mrs. S tells the doctor's nurse what has happened to <the aide>. Also that the daughter has been called to go home and that Mrs. S has told the daughter to call the Dr's. office if necessary. She impresses upon the doctor's office that this is a child who's been put in this situation and that she's told the child that the Dr's. office would be most helpful. Mrs. S is polite, but she is rather firm about letting the office know that she expects them to be of help in this situation.

In sum, Mrs. S's principalship is based on a fairly explicit embrace of what McGregor (1960) calls "Theory X" management. Hoy and Miskel (1978:124) summarize this view:

> Theory X — the traditional view of the worker and working — holds that people are lazy and dislike and avoid work and that administrators must use both the "carrot and stick" to motivate workers. McGregor maintains that other less explicit, but widespread, beliefs are held by management or administration. For example, the average man (educator, student) is by nature indolent, lacks ambition, dislikes responsibility, and prefers to be led. Moreover, the worker (educator, student) is inherently self-centered and indifferent to organizational needs unless they satisfy motives. The worker is by nature resistant to change. Finally, he is gullible; not very bright; and a ready dupe for

> crusaders, charlatans, and demagogues.

The notion that people are gullible, rather than bad, is embodied in Mrs. S's views about the major problems confronting the schools. She says,

> All educators are faced with the problem of fighting the T.V. While schools are being blamed for all of the evils of education, the real culprit is T.V.

Not only are the minds of children easily distracted and destroyed by the drivel of T.V., their parents are also gullible because,

> Every parent thinks their child is a perfect angel, until we prove it otherwise. So we sit and talk with parents and decide collectively what we're gonna do with Johnny's behavior.

Mrs. S even views herself as easily mistaken. She says,

> About 2/3 of the time you're right and about 1/3 of the time you're wrong, but you don't sit around and brood about it. You say, well if that happens again I'll know what to do. We learn every day, this is how we grow. As long as we treat each other as human beings and treat our problems as individual problems, a lot of the time you can deal with it much better.

Thus, for Mrs. S, the world of human limitations, sloth and ineptitude forces the principal to be a strong, sometimes stern, director of the schools' affairs.

CONTRADICTIONS IN MRS. S's STYLE

The contradictions in Mrs. S's style are less obvious than in the three principals described previously. She seems to be the hard-headed realist in the group, with few illusions or romantic dreams and with even fewer mis-perceptions about her own intentions or those of others. She has a real contradiction, however. It is that her style leads her to concentrate almost entirely on the formal projects and emergent problems of discipline or non-compliance even though she knows full well that it is necessary for the school to include in its "main thrust",

> building student self image as well as improving general academic performance.

She also knows that when evaluating how well the school is performing one needs to look at "teacher morale" and "parent involvement" as well as discipline. Moreover,

> The most important thing a principal has to do is work well with people — to interrelate with different types of people and to use this ability to have people work as a cohesive

group.

What we observe, however, is that Mrs. S spends a very large portion of her time working on problem children, problem teachers, and problem program components. Successful teachers, compliant children, and working programs get little attention. The result is that many of the people she works with feel that any contact with Mrs. S probably means that you are in trouble. Mrs. S was probably the only one really surprised to discover that the aide who had to go home ill did not want her to know about the problem for fear it might jeopardize her job. Although our observer could have predicted Mrs. S's diligent and sensitive pursuit of help for the aide -- including her aggressive contact with the aide's physician -- the aide was responding to the prevailing impression of Mrs. S as a no-nonsense, strictly by the book supervisor.

THE MULTI-STYLE PRINCIPAL: THE CASE OF MRS. T

The work orientation of the fifth principal in our study, Mrs. T, is more difficult to classify than the others. Mrs. T is a somewhat younger, white, female principal in her second year as an elementary school principal. She is highly regarded by senior central office administrators and impressed our field observers as bright, energetic, and fairly comfortable with her relatively new role as principal of a high achieving, largely white middle class suburban school.

There are at least three reasons why Mrs. T's work style is hard to classify. First, she is relatively new to this role and is still discovering what to emphasize and what to overlook among the demands and opportunities which are presented to her. She is no newer to the role than Mrs. S, whose supervisory style is easily recognized, however. Thus inexperience in this role cannot be the whole explanation.

A second factor contributing to the complexity of Mrs. T's work style is the strength and cohesiveness of the faculty at her school. Some teachers from this school are key leaders in the district's teacher bargaining unit and they take an active interest in seeing to it that teacher rights and interests are fully protected. These teachers are more than simply teacher-rights advocates, however. Senior members of this staff have well established personal friendship ties with one another and take an active interest in the overall climate and functioning of the school. This was the only school in our study at which a group of faculty members initiated a meeting with our research staff. At a rather informal meeting called by the most influential teachers at this school we were first carefully scrutinized regarding our motives and methods and then expansively told about how good this school is.

A third factor which complicates Mrs. T's work role is the middle class, suburbanized character of this school's clientele. Mrs. T was contacted much more frequently than any of the other principals by parents expressing explicitly educational rather than behavioral concerns. Families sending children to this school obviously care about the quality of their children's education -- not just their test scores or their grades, but the nature and character of their educational experiences. This concern for children's educational experiences is given even greater visibility because Mrs. T's school houses five special education classes for children with problems ranging from severe aphasic disorders to mild learning handicaps. These special education classes encourage increased day-to-day interest in educational achievement measures and diagnostic testing on the part of both parents and staff members.

Mrs. T sometimes displays a leadership orientation of the type characteristically seen in Mr. R's work. That is, she sometimes concentrates primarily on developing a proper climate or atmosphere in the school. This shows up in her discussions of working relationships with teachers:

> I try to have established a working relationship, a rapport, with teachers so that when I need something I can go to them and tell them I need for this to happen. And I try to do it on an informal basis. I try to do it one-to-one, if it's that kind of an issue.

She elaborates on this in describing how she can tell whether she's being successful. She says,

> I think I can tell by climate. I can tell when I am out on the playground — if I am taking responsibility for student behavior on the playground at lunch time. If there's a lot of hostile behavior going on, there's something wrong, there's something that I need to do to address that question. I can tell as I am talking to teachers — if there's a lot of hostility. If they are not congenial with me, if they are not free to talk to me, that usually is an indication that something is wrong. On the contrary, if things are flowing smoothly, then I feel that things are pretty successful. If I get positive comments from parents. . .

As indicated in the following exerpt from an interview, her leadership concern is also evident when she talks about her participation in formal meetings with the teaching staff:

> There are times when we have staff meetings and I have things that I need to make teachers aware of. I need feedback from the teachers — and for me that's a good time to get it. . . I don't like the teachers doing other work when they are sitting in a staff meeting. I like for them to participate in it, and I am fairly assertive about that.

In this context, Mrs. T is deeply committed to the belief that education requires intense communication and a shared vision of the school's purposes and programs.

This is but one aspect of Mrs. T's complex style, however, and it is difficult to be certain on the basis of our limited data whether Mrs. T's apparent effectiveness is due to her skill in execution of this leadership style or to other elements in her overall work orientation.

At other times, Mrs. T sounds more like Mrs. O, the manager-principal in our sample. This orientation is particularly evident when she is talking about the importance of staff development and her role in staff evaluation. Her interview protocols offer the following example of this technical, managerial orientation;

> Teachers can be taught to be effective teachers by learning certain techniques and, as principals, we can help teachers become aware of those techniques. We can reinforce them when we see that good teaching is going on. . . We can reinforce that behavior by pointing it out to them and making them aware of why what they are doing is effective. So, as part of the evaluation process, when I go in to do an observation on the teacher, I try to write a word picture of what is going on in that classroom. And I take down as many specific kinds of things as I can and then from that I draw out the elements that fit in to Madeline Hunter's concept of lesson design. I am sure that you probably have heard about the seven different elements that are found in good teaching lessons — I identify those areas that I have actually seen and reinforce them by giving positive feedback on it. And when I find that there is an aspect of good teaching that's missing, I make suggestions in that area — realizing, of course, that simply because the teacher doesn't establish an "anticipatory set" doesn't necessarily mean that she's not a good teacher. It doesn't even necessarily mean that it was needed. But if the students aren't motivated to learn and they are not paying attention, then maybe an anticipatory set might have been called for, so I would make that recommendation.

As clear as this technical basis for managing instruction appears to be, however, Mrs. T tells us that,

> I am not very comfortable evaluating teachers. As a new principal, it is for me the most stressful part of my job. Madeline Hunter has given me a handle on it. It is much easier because of the terminology she identifies. It is easier for me to go in and feel like I am doing a competent job, picking out effective elements of good teaching and addressing myself to things than I find lacking.

In addition to the support for this technical management orientation provided by the Madeline Hunter training in teaching techniques and lesson structures, Mrs. T is strengthened in this orientation by her effective relationship with senior central office administrators. She calls the executive administration a "support group" and reports that they have visibly attended to her efforts as a new principal and have warmly encouraged her in her work.

On a few occasions Mrs. T sounded like Mr. Q, our administratively oriented principal. This was particularly evident when she was dealing with budget and reporting problems in her job. For example, when talking about how to plan her work for the coming week, she says,

> The main thing I am considering right now are some deadlines that I have in terms of budget. Budget cutoffs are coming up for the end of the year. As I mentioned earlier, my teacher evaluations are past due. I need to complete those. I try and keep it ongoing. As I come to something that I need to follow-up on, I try and mark it on my calendar.

The main difference between Mrs. T's approach to these administrative demands and that taken by Mr. Q, however, is her sense that these requirements are peripheral and intrusive rather than central to her overall work load. She clearly has more important things to do with her time than to attend to administrative deadlines and make school budget decisions, but when forced to deal with these issues she does so with much the same orientation and decision making strategies as Mr. Q.

The closest Mrs. T ever came to Mrs. S's supervisory style was when she described how one staff member was "encouraged" to undertake a special training program. She said,

> I have one teacher, for example, that has a problem with discipline and control. So I have suggested that he attend the assertive discipline workshops for his own professional development. In our district we have what's called Keys to Teaching; it is based on Madeline Hunter's professional development program. Some of my teachers have elected — maybe with a little encouragement — to attend.

Here again, Mrs. T's style is only vaguely reminiscent of Mrs. S's aggressive supervisory approach. She is clearly willing to take steps to "encourage" teachers to comply with her expectations. In fact, Mrs. T "encouraged" one teacher with whom she was unhappy to transfer to another site in the course of our study year. But this aspect of her work style is not accompanied by Mrs. S's pervasive sense that teacher and student disciplinary problems are about to erupt at any moment, or that there is a need to either "baby" marginal teachers or "be on the lookout" for trouble.

FLEXIBILITY RATHER THAN CONTRADICTION

While there were obvious contradictions between intent and action in each of our other principals, none are readily apparent in Mrs. T's style. Her beliefs about the bases of high quality teaching include both the dedicated effort and specialized technique emphases which are differentially embraced by the other principals. And her beliefs about the ultimate aims of schooling seem to include both the developmental and the achievement goals which divide the other principals. While each of the other four principals displayed a clear bias toward a specific combination of teaching work and school mission definitions, Mrs. T embraces a comprehensive and flexible pattern. It is a pattern which appears to provide her with the ability to alter both her work orientation and her approach to the specific requirements of her job as she moves from one problem area to another.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

The five principals whose work orientations and executive styles have been reviewed in this chapter represent a broad range of personal background, training and experience. Thus, they differ in dozens of way that have not been described. Moreover, the data which were gathered and analyzed are limited in scope. Nevertheless, each elementary school principal in this study relies on an identifiable, personal work orientation or cultural perspective to define tasks and guide work activities. The five principals presented in this chapter illustrate four essentially different cultural perspectives.

Mrs. P has adopted a "managerial" orientation. She carries out her work in a technical manner; placing emphasis on program planning and personnel issues. She exhibits a unique high energy level and careful workmanship. She is also different from the other principals in the manner by which she uses language, displaying a sense of wit and cynicism. These characteristics give her school an atmosphere of efficiency, but also exacerbates certain personnel problems.

Mr. Q relies on an "administrator" orientation. He is preoccupied with time and scheduling. His primary concerns are to provide support and presence. He deals with student discipline; he perceives his teachers as autonomous professionals and passes along to them programmatic suggestions from the central office. This executive style results in his having a sense of managerial responsibility without adequate power, a sense of leadership responsibility without a general vision, and a tendency to personalize relationships.

Mr. R's style we've called "leadership" because of his tendency to focus his attention on the emotional climate or atmosphere of his school. This principal has a view of what schools should be and he tries to personally infuse that view into the organization. One problem created by this leadership style is that problems are easily avoided in the rush to create a positive atmosphere. His belief that enthusiasm originates with the principal leads Mr. R to accentuate positive aspects of the school and give relatively casual attention to real conditions that may be hindering the school from accomplishing as much as it could.

Mrs. S has adopted McGregor's "Theory X" approach to management more than any others among our principals. Her attitude toward teachers and other employees leads her to concentrate attention on weaker teachers and see close supervision of their work as a primary responsibility.

Mrs. T is a multi-style principal. She does not display a particular style consistently, but rather displays characteristics of all types. This flexible style enabled her to manage her school in ways that were perceived to be effective and reasonably efficient by both central office executives and a strong cadre of teachers within her building. The school situation was unique, however, making it difficult to be confident that successful management was a result of her style or her placement in this special setting.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURAL INCENTIVES AND EFFECTIVE TEACHING

It is time to ask "What does it all mean?" We have reviewed prior research on work motivation, rewards and incentives. And we have explored in considerable detail the work orientations and activities of fifteen elementary school teachers and five principals. Does all this analysis add up to a meaningful, consistent theory of teaching incentives? What does it say about the relationship between teaching incentives and teacher effectiveness? These questions are best answered by abstracting a series of formal theoretical propositions from the previous chapters, and then exploring the empirical and logical basis for them. The eight theoretical propositions presented below, while departing rather markedly from most of the literature on rewards and incentives, is broadly supported in recent research on management and productivity in industrial organizations (see, for example, Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1982). Like this recent literature, our theoretical framework asserts that there is a fundamental and direct link between work incentives for teachers and the development of school and classroom cultural systems.

MOTIVATION AND REWARDS

> Proposition #1: Appropriate motivation plays a vital role in determining the quality of teacher work efforts.

Not all human behavior is "motivated." Physiological responses to loud noises or temperature changes, for example, arise spontaneously from the operations of the body's autonomic systems without conscious attention. Work behavior, by contrast — especially the complicated work of teaching elementary school children — does not arise from such unconscious and automatic processes. Such work activity must be motivated. That is, it does not begin until it has been stimulated or energized, and the form which it takes must be shaped and directed toward specific tasks. The effectiveness of individual teachers depends largely on the overall level of their stimulation to action and the specific forms which their activities take. In short, teacher effectiveness depends upon motivation.

Appropriate motivation solves two important organizational problems: securing participation and assuring performance. Participation in the workplace is, of course, the more fundamental problem. Unless workers seek jobs, show up for work regularly, and engage energetically in their assigned tasks, no work will get done. Participation without adequate performance motivation is of limited value, however. Especially in complex and emotionally demanding jobs like teaching, it is all too easy for workers to confuse mere participation in routine work activities with their broader responsibilities for high quality task performance.

When analyzing the motivations of teachers and administrators, as the data presented in earlier chapters has amply demonstrated, it is important to know how they interpret their own participation and performance responsibilities. Educators have many different ways of participating in school and classroom work activities, and they adopt sharply divergent views of goals and criteria for evaluating teacher work performance.

> Proposition #2: Rewards, broadly conceived, are the most effective work motivators.

Used broadly, the term reward refers to any experience which produces satisfaction, pleasure or fulfillment for those who participate in it. We use the term "experience" in this definition in order to acknowledge that many rewards do not have an objective or material aspect and cannot, therefore, be described as reified "things" to be manipulated. Many rewards are, of course, centered in material objects. The reward-value of these objects depends, however, upon how much they are valued or desired by those who receive them. Thus the reward — the sense of satisfaction or fulfillment — which comes from material objects depends upon how they are experienced, not on the objective characteristics of the objects themselves.

REWARDS VS. REINFORCEMENTS

It helps to clarify the concept of a reward if we carefully distinguish it from the concept of a reinforcer. The terms reinforcement and reward are frequently used interchangeably in everyday conversations. In technical discussions, however, they differ significantly — and that difference is crucial to our analysis of teaching. As a technical term, the word reinforcement has been universally utilized by behaviorist psychologists to refer to the fact that certain experiences, if they are closely associated with the performance of some act or the emitting of a particular behavior, will increase the probability that a person (or an animal) will continue to emit that behavior. For the behaviorists, any experience which increases the likelihood that a behavior will be emitted is said to be a reinforcer for that behavior. Thus, the behaviorists insist upon looking only at the consequence of an experience. Concepts like pleasure, satisfaction, or fulfillment are, from the behaviorist perspective, highly inferential (some even deny that these terms have any meaning at all). Hence they generally avoid using the term reward altogether.

Psychological theorists who adopt more complex theories of human activity (e. g., those who base their theories of motivation on drives, needs, or cognitive meaning systems) are much more comfortable using the term reward. These higher level psychological theories share the view that individuals act in response to their own interpretation of past experience and/or anticipation of future consequences. Interpretation and anticipation are mental processes that go unobserved by strict behaviorists. Indeed, with currently available research methods they cannot be observed at all. Such mental processes must be inferred from what people say and do. Inferences of this sort are basic to any science, however. They complicate the analysis of human actions, but complex analysis is certainly preferable to simplistic conclusions. Hence psychologists interested in the analysis of higher level human behaviors are generally comfortable with the idea that mental states or processes should be analyzed as part of any theory of human motivation. Consequently, they frequently use the term reward to refer to the subjective feelings of satisfaction, fulfillment or pleasure which accompany certain experiences, and to call the experiences which produce these subjective feelings rewards.

Our use of the term rewards in connection with the motivation of teachers reflects our rejection of strict behaviorist interpretations of motivation. In our view, most behaviorist research has produced weak and contradictory findings largely because it has denied the importance of the subjective meanings which individuals attach to their experience. It is true, of course, that some research work based on behaviorist theories has found significant, though usually weak, relationships between reinforcement experiences and subsequent actions. We have become convinced, however, that no effective analysis of teaching will be possible without taking into account teachers' subjective interpretations of their day-to-day experiences within the school.

TYPES OF REWARDS

Rewards are of two basic types -- intrinsic and extrinsic. Two attributes distinguish extrinsic from intrinsic rewards. First, intrinsic rewards arise from personalized psychic experiences. They are generated entirely within the subjective experiences of those who receive them and cannot be physically manipulated by others. Second, intrinsic rewards are immediately linked to engagement in the activities with which they are associated. That is, their distribution is immediate and direct; not contingent upon the actions of others or delayed until some subsequent experiences are encountered. Thus the link between engaging in an activity and receiving the intrinsic rewards for doing so is established entirely by the characteristics of the actors themselves — it is not contingent upon the operation of some external distribution system.

Extrinsic rewards have the opposite characteristics. They are objective or material in character and thus subject to manipulation and control by others. Their distribution is not fully under the control of the person who receives them and frequently is imperfectly linked to engagement in activities with which they are nominally associated.

Of course, the derivation of intrinsic rewards for one's actions is also problematic. It is often the case that an individual engages in an activity expecting to derive a sense of personal satisfaction from participation in it, or anticipating feelings of pride and accomplishment to emerge from successful completion, only to be disappointed in the outcome. Uncertainties of this sort are related to successful execution of intended actions or accuracy in predicting one's own reactions, however, not to an inadequate linkage between the actions taken and a separate reward distribution system.

While it is relatively easy to distinguish among the two major types of rewards, it is very difficult to measure their size or potency. The reward values of obvious and widely recognized extrinsic rewards (such as salaries, promotions, or tax benefits) are far from uniform for all individuals. Behaviorist theories can conveniently assign reinforcement values to such rewards by measuring their cash value. Reward values, however, are based on the extent to which individuals derive personal pleasure, satisfaction or fulfillment from these experiences. Therefore, the strength or potency of such rewards is significantly affected by the subjective meanings and values assigned to them by the recipients.

Available evidence supports two conclusions regarding the value or potency of various rewards for educators. First, educators generally find intrinsic rewards more meaningful and attractive than extrinsic ones. Given that teachers are paid substantially less than other college graduates, this finding is not surprising. It is, nevertheless, vitally important that managers and policy makers keep it in mind when trying to improve school performance. The second broadly supported conclusion is that educators rely on sharply divergent subjective meaning systems for interpreting their work responsibilities and experiences. As a result, different individuals seek and respond to quite different intrinsic rewards within their work. This finding means that the impact of any system of rewards on teacher effectiveness will be complex and difficult to predict -- requiring managers and policy makers to understand the subjective dimensions of teacher value systems and work orientations as well as the objective characteristics of schools and classrooms if they hope to develop reward systems which will significantly affect teacher work performance.

> *Proposition #3*: An *incentive* is a reward which serves to modify work behavior by being linked (in the mind of the worker) to participation in, or performance of, particular tasks or activities.

The term incentive is often used, inappropriately, as a synonym for the word reward. There is, as indicated in Chapter II, a close relationship between these two terms. Both refer to various experiences capable of producing pleasure, satisfaction or fulfillment. Reward is the more general of the two terms -- used to refer to *any* experience capable of producing these feelings. In order for rewarding experiences to become incentives, however, they must be *contemplated* in advance by those who will receive them. This in necessary because the term incentive refers to the fact that contemplation or anticipation of various rewards leads people to modify their behavior in various ways that they believe will help to secure the rewards. Thus, the existence of an incentive depends upon its prior existence as a reward. Without rewards there is no reason for individuals to adjust their behavior in an effort to obtain them. Rewards may exist, however, without ever becoming incentives for action. If individuals cannot imagine a *linkage* between their own actions and the acquisition of particular rewards, these rewards will not serve as incentives for action (except, perhaps, in the special sense of serving to motivate exploratory or innovative behaviors which are based on vague hopes rather than explicit expectations).

If the reward-value of an experience refers to the magniture of the pleasure or satisfaction it produces, the incentive-value of this same experiences refers to the extent to which it influences behavior. Thus, the incentive-value of any given reward is conceptually quite distinct from its reward-value. Very large rewards will have no incentive-value for workers who believe that luck, serendipity, or the capricious decisions of others completely control their distribution. By the same token, relatively small rewards can have a significant incentive-value if workers believe that they can be easily and reliably secured with modest work efforts.

Perhaps the best way to interpret the differences between rewards and incentives is to note that the term reward belongs to psychological theory, while incentive is a sociological or organizational analysis concept. Before anticipation can turn psychologically meaningful rewards into incentives controlling social behavior two conditions must be met. First, workers must concretely imagine the particular activities or tasks which are to be rewarded. For example, if workers believe that they are being rewarded for the time they spend in the work place, they will behave quite differently than if they believe they are being rewarded for displaying a particular attitude, for performing particular tasks appropriately, or for getting specific results.

The second condition for turning psychologically potent rewards into organizationally effective incentives is the development of an understandable and reliable distribution system. Unless workers know (or at least imagine that they know how the rewards they seek are sturcturally linked to their work responsibilities they will not know when or how to perform their work. Under some circumstances, reward distribution is linked exclusively to finished tasks — with no attention given to the timing or manner in which those tasks are performed. Such is the case, for example, when successful politicians distribute the spoils of office to loyal supporters without asking how they succeeded in winning the election. Examples of this sort are very rare in ordinary work settings, however. Typically workers are rewarded (as are students) only if tasks are done in the prescribed manner, at the appropriate time, and meet specific evaluation criteria.

As Martin Rein (1973) has noted, incentives viewed in this way are to be distinguished from coercive regulations as mechanisms of social control. Workers (or citizens) who imagine linkages between particular behavior and highly prized rewards are likely to voluntarily modify their behavior in order to reap these rewards. In the absence of a suitable incentive scheme, however, their behavior will be controlled, if at all, only by rules and regulations that are supported by a credible enforcement system. (It is possible, of course, to generalize the concept of incentives to include escape from coersive regulations, but such an extension sacrifices clarity in analysis for an artifical comprehensiveness in definition — we prefer Rein's distinction between incentive-based and regulation-based social control systems).

INCENTIVE SYSTEMS

> Proposition #4: Incentive systems — that is systems linking anticipated rewards to specific work behavior — exist at three conceptually distinct levels of analysis: 1) the individual, 2) the group, and 3) the organizational.

Individual incentive systems are those which provide rewarding experiences directly and separately to individual workers. In order to be distributed in this way, rewards must meet two conditions. First, they must be contingent entirely upon individual worker behavior. That is, the workers must believe that the rewards are garnered by personal effort — effort not requiring the collaboration of others. Second, the rewards that a worker receives must be of a type which can become the wholly private possession of the individual who receives them. They must not "spill over" to other workers who become "free riders" merely by belonging to the same group or organizational unit. If these two conditions are not met, workers will come to believe that they need to develop and enforce a set of either formal rules or informal social norms governing their cooperation with other workers in securing and enjoying the rewards. This, of course, means that the incentive system is no longer focused on purely individual behavior and that it exists as an aspect of group or organizational life.

Group incentive systems arise whenever it is true that either: a) the rewards distributed are of such a nature that they are necessarily shared among workers, or b) workers must cooperate in order to secure them. Under these conditions, sets of socially enforced norms govern interaction among individual workers so as to insure that they will each share appropriately in the expenditure of effort required to perform the work.

Organizational incentive systems emerge when either the collaboration required to secure desired rewards, or the collective enjoyment of the rewards once received, becomes formal and impersonal. This occurs when individuals think of their collaboration efforts as directed toward what George Herbert Mead (1934) called "generalized others." That is, incentives are organizationally mediated whenever people work collaboratively and/or share in the enjoyment of specific rewards by virtue of occupying formal school roles as members of particular organizations. Corporate tax incentives and political party victories are examples of such organization level incentives. Corporate employees expect to benefit from tax incentives indirectly through the benefits such incentives generate for all members of the corporation, political party members derive satisfaction from the electoral success of "their" candidates even when they do not know them personally.

Both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards are distributed through each of the three incentive systems. At the organization level, extrinsic incentives are operative when workers are motivated by a belief that their work efforts will expand the total resources of the organizations for which they work. Intrinsic organization level incentives are called "purposive" by Clark and Wilson (1961) because they effectively shape the behavior of workers who identify with the goals or purposes of an organization. The teachers whom we studied were particularly sensitive to these intrinsic incentives and organized their work efforts in order to pursue specific educational purposes. At the group level, individuals cooperate in pursuing such extrinsic incentives as group salary schedules and working conditions, or group prestige and status within the work organization. Intrinsic rewards, such as group solidarity, enjoyment of work mates, or a sense of collective identity often serve as group level incentives also. Our sample teachers were particularly sensitive to the development of a sense of solidarity or collective identity. Although they could be differentiated, as noted in Chapter III, on the basis of whether they tended to view their students or adult co-workers as the primary source of these intrinsic group incentives, all teachers were deeply affected by the availability of intrinsic group incentives.

As with organization and group level incentives, both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards are directly available to individual workers. At the present time, individual level extrinsic rewards for teachers (such as salaries and fringe benefits) do not vary widely within school systems. Moreover, while there are strong political pressures currently at work to change this aspect of the school incentive system, we found no reason to believe that proposed changes (such as merit pay schemes or bonus pay for teachers with scarce skills) are likely to alter teacher behavior markedly. Salary levels may have a substantial impact on the recruitment of young peopl into the teaching profession, or on the retention of high performing individuals who are in the profession, but we saw no reason to suppose that salary expectations play a significant role in motivating either the quality or the level of work effort for those who are on the job. Even at the individual level, intrinsic rewards (like pride of workmanship or the vicarious enjoyment of children's achievements) appear to have a far more powerful incentive value than salary and benefit arrangements.

CULTURE-BASED INCENTIVES

> Proposition #5: Since orienting belief systems serve to establish the linkage between task performance and reward distribution for workers (i.e. to create incentive systems) it is appropriate to say that incentives are created by cultural systems.

Anthropologists define culture in a variety of different ways (see, for example, Arensberg and Kimball, 1965; Boon, 1973; Gamst and Norbeck, 1976; Klapp, 1969; Kluckhohn, 1962; Markarion, 1977; Merrill, 1961). Some definitions concentrate on the artifacts of culture — man made tools, implements or objects of art and religion. Many concentrate on language development or other symbolic communication processes. Still others focus on the development of values and the establishment of social mandates or taboos. However, virtually all conceptions of culture agree that cultures are embodied (or at least expressed) in a system of beliefs shared by members of the cultural system and "foreign" to non-members. These belief systems cover at least two points. First, they define and give legitimacy to social purposes or goals. That is, cultures are self-consciously historical — they define for their members the nature of the historical linkages that bind past, present and future into a sensible continuity. In defining historical movement cultures also provide their members with the criteria for recognizing when they are contributing to the realization of legitimate historical purposes and when they are interferring with legitimate historical goals.

Second, cultural belief systems serve to typify (in the sense of defining and evaluating) the objects, persons and events which constitute the field of social organization and action within which their members live. That is, cultures distinguish "natives" from "foreigners" by providing the former with a frame of reference for distinguishing the important from the trivial, the good from the bad, and the meaningful from the meaningless in ordinary social interactions. By typifying objects, people and events, cultures support the development of both cognitive knowledge and collective identity. Knowledge arises from linking events into historical themes or processes. Collective identities emerge from the establishment of shared meanings and common purposes.

In schools and classrooms cultural belief systems create incentive systems for teachers by: 1) establishing work goals, 2) defining techniques to be utilized in pursuing these goals, 3) identifying social norms for collaboration with others, 4) disclosing presumed linkages between work activities and the flow of personal, group or organization level rewards, and 5) assigning values to the various types of rewards that are available. As Peters and Waterman (1982) point out, little attention has been given to the importance of these cultural systems in creating and sustaining high performance in business and industry. In fact, they argue, cultural belief systems are far more important than either bureaucratic rules or high powered technologies in assuring high performance. Our research supports the general thrust of the Peters and Waterman work — teachers with vivid cultural belief systems that clearly define educational purposes and richly portray the actions necessary for achieving those purposes find it much easier to develop and implement lesson structures and classroom rules.

As detailed in Chapter III, teachers differ significantly in their beliefs about both the overall purpose of schooling and the types of work activities or relationships needed to reach those purposes. The evidence indicates that teachers find it necessary to choose between measurable achievement production and diffuse child nurture or development as the basic purpose of educaton. At the same time, they also choose between adult-oriented, program implementation and child-centered lesson teaching as a description of the appropriate technique for pursuing the basic goals. Surprisingly, three of the four combinations of purpose and technique appear to provide a satisfactory incentive system to guide teacher work efforts, whereas the fourth does not. Achievement production can be pursued either by concentrating on how children are incorporated into program structures or by enacting lessons that are carefully structured in response to children's abilities and interests. Pursuing the goal of child nurture and development, by contrast, appears to require that teachers abandon a priori program definitions in order to provide students with engaging and stimulating experiences responsive to an ongoing analysis of their needs and interests. Each of the five "helpers" in our sample found it very difficult to sustain either their own efforts or those of their students because they believed that child nurture would be produced by requiring students to go through established grade-level and subject matter curricular materials.

THE TECHNICAL CORE OF THE CLASSROOM

Proposition #6: Lesson structures and social behavior rules represent the technical core of all classroom cultures.

In addition to generating incentive systems, classroom cultures enable teachers to conceptualize two core elements in the educational process: lessons and rules. Without these two elements, education loses its essential character and schools cease to be legitimate organizations.

Lessons are structured by grouping children and then engaging them in a specific sequence of activities. Important aspects of the grouping process take place long before individual teachers begin their lessons. School attendance boundaries are drawn (assigning children to particular schools and substantially determining who will be their classmates). Within the school, program structures are created (generally segregating children by age group, and frequently sorting them by ability, achievement, and social class as well).

Additional grouping decisions are made after the children arrive in their classrooms. Teachers decide whether to teach large groups or small ones (and occasionally by-pass group instruction entirely in order to provide tutorial assistance to individual students). When grouping the children, teachers determine which intellectual, emotional, ethnic or other characteristics will form the basis of group structure. They also determine how long students will work in particular groups and what opportunities they will have to share experiences with particular classmates.

The second universal characteristic of classroom lessons is the unique sequence of activities involved. Lessons involve a linear sequence of activities with a beginning, a middle, and an end. As detailed in Chapter IV, effective lessons are bounded by starting and ending rituals separating them from other classroom activities. Between these ritual demarcations, lessons unfold through: a) an opening, b) the lesson proper (which in turn consists of one or more cycles of teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation), and c) a closing which summarizes and interprets the lesson or directs students toward its application in future school work assignments or real life situations.

Teachers give concrete structure to their lessons primarily in terms of their orientations toward the purposive and group solidary incentives which they experience. Teachers whose purposive incentive orientation emphasizes achievement production rather than child nurture tend to structure their lessons more tightly, to provide more direct instruction, and to create a more "business-like" atmosphere in the classroom. By contrast, teachers who respond more to child development incentives tend to adopt more open, exploratory and venturesome lesson structures.

Viewed from the perspective of their solidary incentive experiences, teachers who identify primarily with other adults and who, therefore, see schooling primarily in terms of program structures, tend to concentrate on structuring lesson activities which match students' demonstrated abilities and limitations. Teachers whose solidary incentive orientations emphasize relationships with children, by contrast, tend to see schooling in terms of specific lessons (rather than overall programs), and to concentrate on structuring lessons in ways that stimulate student excitement or spontaneous engagement.

Creation and enforcement of the social rules ordinarily referred to by the phrase "classroom management" have a different, but still important, relationship with classroom cultural systems. As shown in Chapter V, classroom rule systems are related more to the vitality of the classroom culture than to the particular teaching incentives which it creates. Robust classroom cultures eliminate the need for overt rules and allow teachers to substitute "giving directions" for "enforcing rules" in their dealings with children. As cultural systems become less and less effective, teachers must rely more and more on overt rules and coercive power strategies to control student behavior. And, if coercive power fails (which it often does), classroom chaos destroys both the orderliness of student behavior and the vitality of the teacher's incentives to teach lessons of any sort.

PRINCIPAL INFLUENCE ON TEACHER INCENTIVES

> Proposition #7: Principals make their greatest contributions to teacher incentives indirectly by influencing the cultural systems within the school and classroom.

Principals can, and often do, make some direct contributions to the incentive system for teachers. In obvious ways they influence the flow of intrinsic rewards by making life more comfortable for some teachers than others — thus signalling that some teaching activities will be more fully rewarded than others. In extreme cases, they will even seek to control salaries or other extrinsic rewards through special assignments, disciplinary evaluations, or recommendations for promotion.

For the most part, however, direct principal control over teacher incentives requires complicated, time-consuming effort and has relatively little effect on the overall strength of the teachers' incentive system. In the area of extrinsic rewards, such as teacher salaries and other benefits, administrative control is extremely limited. Moreover, the evidence suggests, stronger control will probably not enable building level administrators to substantially improve job performance incentives for teachers. Control over intrinsic rewards is somewhat more substantial — especially in dealing with rewards that arise outside the classroom itself (e.g., attention and approval from co-workers, public recognition and support, etc.). Even this control is far from complete, however, and the rewards which are controlled have relatively weak incentive values when compared with those that arise directly from the teaching process. In short, the teacher incentive system is dominated by intrinsic rewards that flow directly from teachers' success (or failure) in implementing lessons and programs that reach educational goals related to achievement and/or development.

Clearly the most powerful influence principals can exercise over teacher incentive systems operates indirectly. As the data in this study suggest, the most effective way for principals to alter teacher work performance is to strengthen school and classroom cultures. By influencing teachers' comprehension of, and commitment to, educational purposes or by strengthening their ability to imagine techniques for achieving those purposes, principals can significantly improve the chances that teachers will be able to reap the powerful intrinsic rewards that come from competent task performance and successful goal achievement.

In order to significantly shape the teacher incentive system, principals must, themselves, develop an effective overall work orientation or "style" to guide their work activities. These principal work orientations define two aspects of the principals' work responsibilities. First, they specify the principals' role in realizing the fundamental purposes of education. Second, they identify proper roles for principals in monitoring and facilitating the work of teachers.

Principals universally recognize that they have some sort of obligation to facilitate teacher work performance and insure that teacher efforts are directed toward the achievement of worthwhile educational goals. They diverge rather sharply, however, in their conceptions of how to accomplish these ends. As described in Chapter VI, some principals adopt the view that the goals of education are best pursued by concentrating on systematically organizing the school's educational programs and activities. Others view close attention to the execution of particular tasks as the more critical problem, and thus concentrate on monitoring and facilitating task performance by individual teachers. In effect, principals who adopt the first view are assuming that educational goals are embodied in program structures — programs which produce educational outcomes by assessing student needs and abilities and then assigning them to appropriate classes, teachers, or curricula. By contrast, principals with the second view believe that school program structures are universal in character. They believe that adjustment to the educational needs of individual children is more a function of teacher effectiveness rather than program sophistication. Principals holding this view are most likely to favor "mainstreaming" for exceptional children and "heterogeneous" grouping of children in regular classrooms.

When it comes to monitoring and facilitating teacher task performance, principals disagree over whether the primary focus of attention should be on teacher dedication, enthusiasm, and level of effort or on their repertoire of techniques and the skill with which they employ them. Principals holding the first view see their own responsibilities in terms of inspiring, motivating, and supporting teachers. Administrators adopting this view tend to rely on "Attaboy" memos and "pep talks" to give teachers a sense of being emotionally supported. Moreover, they also see themselves as responsible for good community relations and for securing adequate support services and supplies for the school. Principals who view skill and precision in task performance as the major source of educational productivity will concentrate their own efforts on providing close supervision and staff training to teachers. In addition, they also tend to rely heavily on staff "in-service" training activities and frequent inspections of teachers' work.

As elaborated in Chapter VI, unique principal work orientations are defined by the way they combine their views of the mission of the school with their conceptions of quality teaching. Principals who believe that educational goals are achieved through overall program organization (rather than execution of specific teaching tasks) and that teacher effectiveness depends upon dedicated effort (rather than skilled performance) will adopt a work style commensurate with the label "administrator". When the program orientation toward mission is combined with a belief that teacher competence rather than dedication is most in need of attention, principals adopt a "supervisor" definition of their own role. For principals who do not recognize the importance of program structures (and concentrate instead on monitoring the level of performance of individual teachers) there is a similar split between those who concentrate on improving effort and those who feel that skill is most in need of attention. Principals who seek to improve teacher performance through increasing their level of effort define their own role in terms of "leadership". Those who emphasize teacher skill and technique define themselves as "managers" who are responsible for concentrating resources and training activities in the areas most in need of improvement.

ADMINISTRATIVE ROLES

As principals develop their unique work orientations, they develop the strategies and techniques for supporting the development of school and classroom cultures commensurate with their overall orientations toward the mission of the school and teaching work. Within their daily work activities, principals display values, enact rituals, and enforce social norms which incorporate teachers, students, and community members into their vision of the school. Some principals are, of course, much better at this culture development process than others. To some extent these differences in culture creating ability stem from variations in verbal or mental ability; to some extent they are the result of variations in training and experience. Most often, however, limitations on the effectiveness with which principals pursue the culture building process are created by contradictions and inadequacies in their orientation toward this aspect of their work rather than limited talent or training.

> Proposition #8: School administrators substantially influence school and classroom cultures through the enactment of three basic roles: 1) interpretive roles aimed at defining and articulating cultural purposes and norms, 2) representational roles aimed at revealing and modeling the activities appropriate to the cultural framework, and 3) authenticating roles aimed at recognizing and confirming successful and appropriate participation by teachers, students, and community members.

Every culture exists primarily in the minds of its "natives." In order for individual workers to be affected by the cultural meanings operative within their work environment they must be successfully enculturated into the meanings, values, rituals, and purposes by which incentive values are assigned to the various rewards available to them. Our data suggests that there are three ways in which principals contribute to the enculturation of teachers and students within the school. First, principals have a significant influence as "interpreters" of the culture. They spend a great deal of time "making the rounds" of the school with no specific action agenda in mind. On these rounds they interact frequently with both teachers and students. Most of their interactions are aimed at interpreting the value system of the school. Celebration of appropriate behavior and chastisment of wrongdoing are frequently found in these interactions. So also are reinforcement of the overall mission of the school and the nature of the activities which the principal believes will help to fulfill that mission. In a more rational and organized way, principals use staff memoranda, staff meetings, and in-service training opportunities to interpret the cultural norms and activities expected of staff and students.

A second important role in the development of the school culture is representational in character. Principals facilitate understanding and identification with the culture of the school and classroom by embodying the values and actions appropriate to that culture in their own work style. It is important to recognize that contradictions between interpretative and representational actions will be especially damaging to the school culture. If principals articulate a belief in the importance of program structure and then fail to organize programs effectively they will significantly disrupt the school culture. If they act out of a work style characterized by intense enthusiasm with little regard for technical precision and skill, they will significantly reduce the probability that teachers will accept demands for improved technical skill in their own work.

The third important culture building role for the principal involves "authenticating" the cultural identities of students and teachers. Since cultures exist largely in the mind of their "natives", they are easily damaged by the psychological alienation or estrangement of individual members. All members of a cultural group need regular feedback from individuals in positions of cultural authority to confirm their understanding of prevailing values and norms. School principals are in a uniquely powerful position to perform this culture authenticating role. They are free to move about the school building. They have obvious status and authority both within and outside the school building. They are strategically located in the communication system of the community and the school district and can, therefore, identify changes in environmental values and norms. They have the vitally important personal, face-to-face, contact with all members of the school in order to provide the most potent type of authentication to various members of the school community. And, finally, they have some influence over the distribution of extrinsic and publicly visible rewards to serve as authenticating tokens for those who most exemplify the cultural purposes and norms which are being supported.

CONCLUSION

The eight propositions developed in this chapter summarize the most salient aspects of the incentive systems which operate within schools and classrooms. We have not examined the incentives which initially bring teachers into the classroom, nor have we examined the various incentives which they may have for leaving the profession of teaching. These are important topics, but our study has produced no data regarding their operation.

The theoretical propositions developed in this chapter depart in significant ways from the traditional literature on work incentives. We have become persuaded, however, that school officials and public policy makers must adopt a cultural perspective like the one presented here or risk doing serious damage to the already shaky level of satisfaction and joy found in the teaching profession. In our judgment, educational leaders who seek to manipulate teacher task performance through the manipulation of financial rewards or other extrinsic rewards, without attending to their subtle and complex cultural implications, are more likely to contribute to strong teacher unionization and high rates of teacher burnout and exit from the profession than to substantially improved school performance.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This final chapter is devoted to an analysis of the educational policy implications of this research. The analysis developed here has a necessarily speculative and suggestive tone. We have carefully studied only a tiny handful of the nation's teachers and administrators. Moreover, the data were collected from a single school district, during a single academic year. Generalization from this study is further limited by the fact that it was designed to be exploratory in nature. Our intention was to identify and conceptualize the full range of teacher incentives -- not to formulate or test a priori hypotheses or specific policy options. Despite the tentativeness of our findings, however, we will interpret their policy implications aggressively and succinctly, foreswearing the usual scholarly caveats of "if supported by further research", "all other things being equal", "within the limits of our data", and the various other phrases used to convey the limited reliability and validity of all social science research results. Our objective here is to facilitate policy debate, not to control final decisions. We are confident that intelligent policy makers can appropriately discount what we have to say, without being repeatedly told to do so.

There are two important reasons for examining the educational policy implications of this study. First, adopting a policy perspective helps to extend and clarify the meaning of the basic concepts developed during the course of the data analysis. In this respect, policy analysis is a natural extension of the research work and serves to test the vitality and consistency of the theoretical framework which it has produced.

Second, and more importantly, tracing the policy implications of this research provides concrete guidance for both professional educators and public officials who are interested in improving the quality of public schooling. The findings of this research challenge a number of widely held pre-suppositions about the nature of teaching work, and about how it can be influenced by teacher trainers, school principals, district policy makers or the public. Laying out these challenges, and examining their implications for school policy, is an important part of our responsibility as research scholars and of the mandate of the National Institute of Education, whose generous support made this study possible.

Viewed from the perspective of the findings developed during this research project, it is not surprising that education policy makers have found it extremely difficult to secure significant improvements in educational quality over the last two decades. Most recent state and federal policy initiatives, and many well intentioned local school district programs, have been based on serious misunderstandings of both the work motivations of teachers and the nature of elementary school classroom processes. Our study suggests major new directions in three broad areas of education policy: 1) development of teacher incentive systems, 2) improvement of classroom instructional processes, and 3) re-definiton of the role of the school principal in organizing, motivating, supporting, and overseeing the work of teachers. Strategies for pursuing each of these major policy goals are elaborated below.

IMPROVING TEACHER INCENTIVE SYSTEMS

Perhaps the most important message of this research is simply this: Beware of simplistic proposals for changing teacher incentive systems! It is just as easy to damage or destroy existing incentives as it is to develop new ones or improve the effectiveness of those already available. Many recent proposals are based on over-simplified behaviorist psychologies which give far too much weight to extrinsic rewards (like salaries and working conditions), while overlooking almost entirely the many subtle and powerful intrinsic rewards found in every school and classroom. While the research reported here does not lead to specific incentive system policies, it does suggest five guidelines which all policies should be expected to follow.

> Policy Guideline #1: Through re-definition of school cultures the incentive-value of a reward can be altered substantially even when the reward itself cannot be controlled at all.

The terms reward and incentive represent orthogonal perspectives on work experiences that yield satisfaction or fulfillment. Reward value is a question of the degree of pleasure or satisfaction produced. Incentive value is a measure of how much the availability of a reward modifies behavior. It is doubtless true that (all other things being equal) the greater the reward value a particular experience has for an individual the greater incentive that individual will have to behave in ways that seem likely to produce that reward. It does not follow from this, however, that the most effective policies for improving work incentives are ones which try to control the delivery of various rewards. To the contrary, our evidence indicates that the most effective policies are ones that operate indirectly, capitalizing on the existence of important rewards delivered directly to teachers by students or their parents, and are not controlled by policy makers at all. The two most powerful of these rewards are: a) the teacher's ability to feel responsible for student learning outcomes, and b) the interpersonal warmth shown by students or parents who appreciate the teachers' work efforts and willingly cooperate with them in the school.

There are three ways in which education policy can enhance the capacity of these "natural" rewards to improve the quality of teaching in the schools. Policies can: 1) help to focus teachers' attention on those tasks and activities which are most rewarding, 2) heighten teachers' awareness of these rewards, and thus make it more likely that they will want to modify their own work habits in order to secure them, and 3) improve teachers' capacities to perform these rewarding tasks more effectively. Such policy strategies would concentrate on school program development, instructional improvement, and teacher orientation and training -- not on controlling the distribution of particular rewards. The next four policy guidelines indicate how such policies would operate.

> Policy Guideline #2: Policies that give primary attention to strengthening organization-level, purposive incentives have the greatest chance of improving teacher work performance.

Teacher work efforts are most strongly influenced by their beliefs about the fundamental purposes of education. Teachers who see the mission of public education as the production of measurable achievement approach their work quite differently than those who see schools as child development agencies. Those holding the first view emphasize the "getting down to business" and "direct instruction" aspects of teaching identified in the school effectiveness literature as important components of schools with unusually high achievement test scores (Cohen, 1982). Teachers who hold a child development view tend to emphasize the importance of expanding learning opportunities and stimulating children's interest in school activities.

Our study sounds a cautionary note regarding the business-like atmosphere and direct instruction techniques identified as characteristic of effective schools. While it is true that a child development view of the school's mission is characteristic of all five of the weaker teachers in this study, it is also embraced by the four highly effective teachers whom we have called the "Coaches". Thus, while an achievement orientation (and its concomitant instructional emphasis) may be associated with a higher overall average in teacher effectiveness, the reduced average among teachers with a child development orientation masks that fact that some members of this group are obviously effective teachers. The problems associated with ineffective teachering are more complex than a simple lack of achievement incentive among teachers. Some teachers are highly effective in pursuing child development goals. And those who are have a decided tendency to emphasize excitement, adventure, and creativity rather than the sober seriousness suggested by "direct instruction" advocates. It seems quite likely, in fact, that many children need child nurture oriented teachers and cannot succeed in school without the services of these warm, emotionally engaging personal coaches.

In addition to adopting formal policy statements and encouraging administrative attention to the clarification of educational purposes, policy makers can strengthen purposive incentives for teachers by: a) assessing and publicly reporting child growth and/or achievement gains directly related to clearly defined and publicly recognized purposes; b) adopting curricular materials which emphasize the desired outcomes, c) providing staff development services for teachers to explore alternative educational goals and the techniques for reaching them, and d) basing the assignment of children to school programs on their progress toward identified goals (rather than on their age, interest, or length of time spent in previous classes).

> Policy Guideline #3: Policies that facilitate the development of appropriate group-level, solidary incentives will also significantly improve teacher work performance.

While a vision of the primary purpose of schooling provides the most powerful incentive, teachers' desires for warm, cooperative and supportive relationships with students and co-workers are also important contributors to their overall incentive system. Teachers whom we identified as oriented toward "keeping school" are those whose strongest reference groups are among the other adults in the school. Those for whom children constitute the primary reference group are much more likely to see their work as "teaching lessons" rather than keeping school. Teachers oriented toward keeping school tend to conceptualize classroom processes in programmatic terms, and to believe that children should be assigned to programs on the basis of their ability and past performance. Teachers with a child-centered group incentive system tend to see their lessons as task or activity structured rather than program structured. And they tend to believe that children should be assigned to tasks or activities which reflect their interests, motivation level or potential for engagement rather than their past performance levels.

Teachers motivated by school keeping incentives tend to be much more visible and accessible to principals and other administrators. Lesson oriented teachers, by contrast, tend to be "loners", less visible to school managers and more difficult to guide and direct. When motivated by the achievement production purposive incentive, the adult-centered teachers are warmly regarded by administrators. They tend to be viewed as "master teachers" who can be trusted to follow the school curriculum guidelines and keep the children at or near grade-level achievement norms. They are also likely to be upwardly mobile in the school system, given various administrative duties and released from full-time classroom teaching assignments.

Paradoxically, the child-centered, lesson oriented teachers tend to be most creative and original in their teaching activities. Though viewed as difficult to manage by their principals, these teachers are self-motivated to give careful attention to individual children's needs. The weakest teachers are those with a child development sense of purpose which is combined with school keeping, adult-centered group solidary incentives. These teachers are frustrating to administrators because their good intentions do not seem to produce adequate attention to children's educational needs. One formula for failure is for teachers who believe that schools should nurture children to become seriously concerned with pleasing their administrative superiors. Successful pursuit of child development goals appears to require that teachers be able and willing to resist pressures from school administrators, and perhaps the demands of the school's formal curriculum.

Policy makers can enhance teacher solidary incentives by facilitating the development of informal group relationships in the school. Teachers will increasingly respond to adult-centered, school keeping incentives if they are given increased opportunities to work closely with other adults, or if they find that substantial rewards are distributed directly by other adults. To the extent that school achievement depends on implementing formal programs and cooperating with administrative pland, it will be facilitated by encouraging adult oriented group solidarity among teachers. To the extent that it depends on intensive work with children, adult solidarity will distract teachers from productive work activities. At the present time, available research does not permit us to draw unequivocal conclusions regarding which of these work orientations has the greatest value for a particular child or subject area.

> Policy Guideline #4: Among the individual-level incentives available to teachers, the predominant role is played by intrinsic rewards.

This study supports the conclusions of earlier researchers who found that teachers are more sensitive to intrinsic personal rewards (such as enjoyment of their work or a sense of productive efficacy) than to extrinsic ones (such as salary variations or differential working conditions). The importance of this fact can hardly be overemphasized. Virtually all important intrinsic rewards are available only to those teachers who are successful in the execution of lessons and the management of classrooms. As detailed in Chapter IV of this report, successful lessons must be properly structured. They must have adequate demarcation rituals which set them apart from each other and from other classroom activities. They must have proper openings and closings. And they must include appropriate cycles of teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation. Teachers who, for whatever reason, are unable to give proper structure to their lessons are very unlikely to develop a sense of productive efficacy in their work.

In a similar vein, in order for teachers to find their classroom duties enjoyable they must be able to create classroom rules which can be enforced through guidance and direction rather than coercion. Teachers who fail to create a sense of shared purposes and meanings in their classrooms find that children are constantly threatening to disrupt their teaching efforts. When these teachers respond by increasing normative moral pressures and coercive threats, or just repressing their awareness of student disruptions, they quickly find teaching to be an onerous, tension-laden chore rather than an enjoyable social experience.

Since teacher effectiveness is so important in securing these intrinsic rewards, educational policies which succeed in improving teacher classroom performance (so long as they do not weaken teacher interest in intrinsic rewards) will be doubly effective. By stimulating better teaching they will improve student learning, and by showing teachers that intrinsic satisfactions accompany improved performance such policies should stimulate teacher self-improvment efforts. If, however, teacher improvement policies have the effect of weakening teachers' interest in the intrinsic rewards of the work, or direct their attention away from the classroom as the primary source of intrinsic job satisfactions, they will likely have only a temporary and limited impact on long-term teaching effectiveness.

Perhaps the most effective approach policy makers can take to individual incentive development lies in the area of staff training and development. Adequate preparation of school site administrators to assess teacher work performance and provide corrective feedback to those whose lesson structures are weak or whose classroom management strategies are inappropriate should be a major concern for education policy makers at all levels.

> Policy Guideline #5: While extrinsic rewards (like salaries and comfortable working conditions) play a significant role in motivating teachers — especially in their recruitment and retention — they cannotbe expected to produce intense engagement or high performance.

It is doubtless true that higher salaries and more comfortable working conditions would play some role in encouraging intelligent young people to enter teaching careers. It is equally true, however, that the enormous sums required to produce noticeable improvements in teacher salaries or substantial changes in their working conditions are quite unlikely to be forthcoming in the near future. Policy makers would be well advised, therefore, to be extremely cautious in trying to stimulate changes in the behavior of teachers by trying to link pay variations and other fringe benefits to their classroom performances. Not only is there little evidence to support the proposition that small changes in compensation will produce better teacher work performances, there is also good reason to believe that school districts find merit pay programs politically impossible to sustain.

The policy guidelines for improving teacher incentive systems can be summarized in terms of the four different types of teacher work-orientations discussed in Chapters III and IV. The teachers whom we called "helpers" are characterized by having weak or deficient incentive systems because they try to combine child-development goals with an adult oriented group solidary orientation. Since they identify with other adults in the school they adopt a "keeping school" approach to structuring classroom activities. Not only does this result in a failure to take personal responsibility for children's academic achievement, it also robs these teachers of the sense of personal efficacy and joy which accompanies success for other teachers. The teachers whom we called "master teachers" share with the helpers an orientation toward adult solidary incentives. Since they see achievement production as the primary purpose of schooling, however, they are able to mount instructional programs based on the commitment to move children through the school's formal curriculum and to "get down to business" giving the students needed academic skills. These teachers know they work for the school district and larger community which it serves. Consequently, they are able to aggressively pursue the children who are having learning problems and entice, cajole, pressure, or otherwise encourage them to work on important achievement goals. As a result, these teachers do develop personally satisfying, intrinsically rewarding experiences of efficacy and joy in the classroom. Unfortunately, they also tend to be drawn away from the classroom to perform school wide administrative and organizational tasks which yield direct contact with the adults who provide them with group solidary incentives.

The teachers whom we called "coaches" and those we called "instructors" are divided on the whether schooling is intended primarily for child development or achievement production. They agree, however, in seeing relationships with children as the primary source of solidary incentives. Thus, it is likely that the coaches will sacrifice test score gains for the development of broader more idiosyncratic learning goals for children. They take pride in social development among children and find great joy in the unique performances by individual children rather than high averages among groups. The instructors take the opposite view of their teaching responsibilities. They find their greatest joy in seeing intellectual mastery among children, and try to get all children equally involved in their lessons. They can comfortably concentrate on improving the performance of a whole group or class without feeling that it restricts the learning of individual children. Both groups of teachers tend to be unresponsive to administrative priorities and demands and thus appear to be hard to manage.

ENHANCING SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Beyond its implications for teacher incentive systems, our research calls for re-thinking policies aimed at improving school achievement. Most recent state and federal policy initiatives aimed at improving educational quality have focused on what Spady (1982) calls the "elusive technical core" of the educational process. Policies attempting to improve school performance through "mastery learning", "competency testing", "staff development", "school accreditation", "school improvement planning", "effective schools management", and other recent state and district level initiatives are virtually all based on some set of assumptions regarding the incorporation of improved teaching techniques, rational planning processes, or sophisticated student assessment procedures into the schools. The research reported here indicates that schools have a "cultural core" which is more important than its "technical core" in determining overall school performance. This cultural core supports and directs teacher work efforts -- and it limits the effectiveness of any techniques not compatible with it. The development of a cultural core is a prerequisite to the development of the technical core in any school system. Three policy guidelines can be drawn from an analysis of the relationship between cultural and technical core elements in the schools.

> Policy Guideline #6: Cultural and technical elements of school organizations need to be carefully distinguished — policies aimed at improving one can easily damage the other.

Cultures work by being shared and embraced as valued social norms and traditions. Technologies work by being explicitly interpreted — accurately specifying the relationship between behaviors and outcomes. Cultures are affective, holistic, and not altogether conscious to those who are influenced by them. Technologies are rational, linear, and self-consciously employed to produce desired results. Cultural failures are attributed to alienation, misunderstanding, or inauthenticity. Technical failures are attributed to ignorance, error, or negligence on the part of those who seek to employ them. Individuals who are confronted by a culture they cannot participate in feel alienated, worthless, and disoriented. Those who are confronted by a technology they cannot master feel confused, incompetent, and fearful of taking action. Access to a cultural system requires the incorporation of its values and presuppositions regarding social purposes and symbolic meanings. Acquisition of a technology requires comprehension of its component elements and an understanding of how to apply them. Cultures work by producing shared perceptions and common goals among the members. Technologies work by making future events predictable and contingent upon specifiable actions. For the technologist, "seeing is believing". For members of a cultural group, "believing is seeing."

Early in the twentieth century "scientific management" became both a slogan for reform and a description of the central ingredient in the way many executives defined their work responsibilities. In Frederick Taylor's (1911) classic formulation of this conception of management, technology was seen as the essence of the productive process. A quarter of a century later Elton Mayo and his colleagues stimulated a second revolution in American corporate management by highlighting the importance of group processes and social relationships in controlling the productivity of industrial workers (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939). This work gave rise to the so-called "human relations" school of management and directed executive attention to the importance of individual motivation and group psychological processes in the shaping work behavior.

Recent scholarship on corporate management has changed directions once again. Challenged by puzzling differences between work norms and processes in different corporations (and in different countries) some scholars have begun to emphasize the important roles played by executives in shaping cultural norms, establishing social rituals, and interpreting organizational purposes (see especially, Ouchi, '1981; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982). "Culture management" differs from both scientific management and human relations management. Cultural managers may continue to be concerned with the technical processes of production and with the social relationships among workers, but they give particular attention to the development of a clear sense of organizational purpose or mission and a vivid set of values, rituals, and social norms which serve to incorporate individual workers into the productive enterprise — conferring an identity upon them and giving them a sense that their own worth and value will be enhanced by the success of the corporation.

The research reported here indicates just how vital culture management is in the school. High performing teachers need a cultural base from which to begin their work. Technical sophistication is important, but it is no substitute for cultural identity.

> Policy Guideline #7: There are two key elements in the school's cultural core — common purposes and shared typifications of the processes to be used in pursuing them — policies should be developed in ways which support these two cultural elements.

Regardless of their specific approach to teaching, strong teachers universally display strong commitments to a particular conception of the basic mission of the school which they readily link to specific ideas about how that mission can be realized. The greatest failing of most recent educational policies and programs lies in the failure to recognize that teachers can successfully incorporate them into classroom activities only if they can believe in their purposes and comprehend their procedures. Teachers who attempt to incorporate program and procedural requirements which they cannot grasp or do not believe in are doomed to the sort of performance which results when one tries to operate a piece of machinery while trying to read the manual at the same time.

Weak teachers are not necessarily those who cannot execute lessons competently. Many individuals who can explain how to work a problem, give a good lecture, or lead an effective discussion are rendered inadequate as teachers because they do not know how to incorporate these activities into an overall cultural system in the classroom. As a result they are perpetually trying, as one student put it, to "do someone else's program."

> Policy Guideline #8: Once the cultural core of the school is established, a technical core consisting of 1) appropriate lesson structures and 2) effective rule systems, must be embedded within that culture.

The technical core of the classroom consists of its lesson structures and its rule system. The lesson structure has two dimensions. The first is its group structure and the second is its time structure. Lesson group structures range from single individuals to whole classes. Most elementary school teachers operate with some sort of intermediate group structure. Student groups usually vary from time to time and from subject to subject — most teachers do at least some whole-class instruction but few do very much completely individualized work. The time structure of a lesson, as described in Chapter IV, consists of five basic elements: 1) the starting demarcation, 2) the opening, 3) the lesson proper, 4) the closing, and 5) the ending demarcation. The lesson proper is, in turn, divided into cycles of teacher elicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation, punctuated by teacher elaborations of the opening and various disruptions or distractions. Every teacher who succeeds in getting students fully engaged in the learning process incorporates the basic elements of this lesson structure into their classroom activities.

Rule formation is the essential ingredient in the technology of classroom management. In order to be successful in structuring classroom activities, teachers must formulate rules which students can understand, can rely on for controlling each other's behavior, and can accept as fair and judiciously applied. If teachers formulate such rules, communicate them to children in understandable ways, and enforce them when challenged, they quickly find that they are able to "give directions" rather than "issue commands" or "make threats" when controlling children's behavior.

To summarize: the three policy guidelines for improving school achievement require that students become willing and knowledgeable participants in the classroom culture. That culture must be so structured that students understand how they are expected to behave. Moreover the expected behavior must have the form of responses to teachers elicitations during the conduct of a lesson. During the teaching of lessons, children must learn to "disappear" as individuals and then "reappear" as students. They must measure their own actions in relation to the expected form and content of proper responses to a teacher's elicitations. And the teacher must communicate the criteria which will be used to assess the adequacy of each student's responses. Neither willful nor unintentional violations of those criteria must be allowed to persist or the lesson structure will disintegrate.

IMPROVING SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The role of the school principal in the development of an effective school has recently become a matter of intense concern among educators and policy makers alike (note, for example, that the National Institute of Education has recently commissioned several review papers on the principalship and sponsored a National Invitational Conference on the Principalship in October, 1982). Two policy guidelines can be drawn from the analysis of elementary school principal work orientations and activities presented in Chapter VI of this report.

> Policy Guideline #9: Role flexibility (not ambiguity) is critical to an effective principalship. Principals must know how, and when, to act the part of a "manager", "leader", "administrator", or "supervisor" in working with teachers.

Much of the literature on school principals identifies the "ambiguity" of their work roles as a serious problem (see Greenfield's, 1982, excellent review). Using the term ambiguity to describe the fact that principals must deal with a wide variety of expectations and can choose among a number of alternative basic work styles does make their work seem ill defined and unclear. This lack of specificity in principal role definitions can be viewed much more positively, however. "Flexibility" rather than ambiguity is the term which best captures the work orientations of effective elementary school principals. As the described in Chapter VI of this report, principals who adopt a single, consistent role definition for themselves display substantial contradictions in their work behavior. In order to be effective, principals must be willing and able to alter their role definitions and resulting work styles to accommodate two factors: a) their own unique strengths and limitations, and b) the circumstances and needs of their work setting.

Four basic functions were emphasized in the work styles of the principals we studied. Each of these functions tended to be the central concern in one of the four work role definitions adopted by our principals. The principal whom we called a "manager" emphasized the importance of organizing and coordinating school programs and teacher activities. The "leader" principal concentrated on trying to stimulate and motivate high quality performances from teachers and students. The "administrator" saw his role in terms of providing support to teachers by insuring that routine services run smoothly and adequate opportunities and resources are provided to enable teachers to pursue their work responsibilities effectively. The "supervisor" principal saw oversight of teacher and student performance as the primary function of her job and concentrated on seeing to it that minimally satisfactory work performances were given by all school employees. After examining the work efforts of these principals and comparing them with a fifth principal whose work style was more flexible, we conclude that it is counter-productive for principals to try to concentrate on one rather than another of these basic functions. All need to be performed if schools are to operate effectively, and principals need to be able to move comfortably from one to another function — despite the fact that they call for rather different work orientations and may seem a bit inconsistent to casual observers. The inconsistencies of role flexibility are to be preferred to the behavioral contradictions that arise when a principal adopts a rigidly consistent role which fails to accommodate the diverse needs and operational complexities of typical elementary schools.

> Policy Guideline #10: In order for policies to support cultural meanings in the school they must reinforce three culture management roles for school principals: 1) interpretive roles aimed at defining and articulating cultural

> purposes and norms, 2) representational roles aimed at revealing and modeling appropriate activities and behaviors, and 3) authenticating roles aimed at recognizing and confirming the participation and membership of children, teachers and citizens.

The legacy of "scientific management" and "human relations" approaches to the management of productive organizations has deprived most managers of an understanding of the processes of culture management as well as blunting their sense of responsibility for establishing a cultural core within the work place. There is little scholarly literature on the development of organizational cultures, and almost no attention has been given to the role played by cultural rather than technical elements in effective organizational management. At a minimum, however, three culturally guided managerial roles make important contributions to the vitality and effectiveness of an organization. First, it is important for executives to articulate and interpret the purposes toward which their organizations are directed and the social norms and values which govern pursuit of those purposes. Political and religious leaders understand this function more adequately than most other managers. Political leaders recognize the importance of holidays and other national celebrations in defining national goals and social norms. Religious leaders regularly re-interpret the mission of their institutions and articulate the proper behavior of group members in pursuit of those purposes. School principals need to be encouraged to incorporate this sense of symbolic, figure-head leadership into their work.

A second culture management role springs from the fact that the concrete behaviors needed to realize particular cultural purposes need to be identified and made explicit. Principals can serve an important function for teachers and students by identifying and modeling the activities and behavioral norms expected of them. In this regard, political and religious leaders are not noticably more effective than school administrators. Much of the erosion of public support for major political and religious institutions in contemporary American society stems from the widespread belief that these leaders do not "practice what they preach." One factor contributing to this situation is the failure in most institutions to appreciate the importance of giving authentic expression (as well as lip service) to basic cultural norms.

A third culture management role which principals should be encouraged to develop focuses on recognition and authentication of individuals or activities which represent basic cultural values. Art critics and connoisseurs play this sort of role quite effectively in helping contemporary society distinguish fine art from ketch, but in most segments of society very little attention is paid to this vital cultural process. Ceremonial functions (such as student or teacher recognition assemblies, honor rolls, awards and prizes, etc.) constitute a major mechanism for this cultural authenticating function. Behavioristic psychologies have weakened the effectiveness of these ceremonial functions in recent years, however, by focusing attention on the reward-value of the honors and prizes for the recipients rather than the culture authenticating value for those who observe and support these ceremonial recognitions. Such a psychological interpretation cheapens the currency of honor among the recipients and encourages managers to cynically use ceremonial functions in an effort to manipulate subordinates and to turn toward extrinsic (usually monetary) rewards rather than rely on intrinsically meaningful, symbolic ones.

To summarize: the research reported here indicates that school administration can be substantially strengthened if school principals are encouraged to utilize their role flexibility to attend appropriately to organization, motivation, support, and oversight functions without trying to be overly consistent in adhering to a single preferred management style. The principalship can also be substantially strengthened by identifying and supporting three uniquely cultural management roles: interpretation, representation, and authentication.

CONCLUSION

The ten policy guidelines discussed in this chapter fall far short of the detail needed to help policy makers formulate specific policies for educator training and certification, school program accreditation, student assessment, curriculum materials, school governance, or school finance. They do, however, consistently point to an overall strategy of school policy development which challenges the narrow and overly technical presuppositions of many policies derived from traditional scientific management and human relations approaches to school organization and control. By highlighting the importance of cultural processes in the conduct of education, these guidelines could go far in helping policy makers to avoid the mistakes of the last 25 years and encourage an overall improvement in the quality of education as well as in the commitment of teachers and school administrators to serving the needs of the nation's children.

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APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

This appendix describes the sample selection, data collection, and data analysis methods used in the conduct of this research project.

SAMPLE SELECTION

Identification of the participants for this research involved four distinct procedures. The first step was to identify and establish a suitable working relationship with the school district within which the study was to be conducted. The second step was to locate and establish contact with the principals of the five schools which were to serve as the observation and data collection sites. Third, fifteen teachers were identified as the primary subjects of the study and their cooperation was elicited. Finally, key central office administrators and consultants who worked directly with the schools and teachers identified in steps two and three were identified and their cooperation sought.

1. District Selection.

When the original proposal for this research was written it was expected that Riverside Unified School District, Riverside, California, would serve as the target site for the research. For a variety of reasons, mostly related to interest in the topic and enthusiasm for the research design, it was decided to move the project to the San Bernardino Unified School District (SBUSD). SBUSD is a moderately large urban school district with a multi-ethnic population and an integrated staff. Overall characteristics of the district are presented in Table A-1.

Arrangements for conducting the research were worked-out with the SBUSD Superintendent of Schools in September of 1980. In accordance with the grant proposal, the superintendent was invited to review the research plan and to assist in determining whether it should focus primarily on elementary or secondary teachers. He was also asked to assist the research team in identifying cooperating schools and principals. As a result of preliminary conversations with the superintendent, it was decided to concentrate the research on elementary school teaching and administration.

Entry to the schools was arranged by inviting the project's principal investigators to present the research objectives and methods to a district-wide meeting of elementary school principals held in mid-September. After a brief presentation and a period of discussion with the principals volunteers were solicited for participation in the study. Seven principals volunteered. A total of nine sites were represented by these seven principals, because two of them served as half-time principals in each of two smaller elementary schools. The project staff arranged to visit each school site in order to ascertain whether a suitably balanced sample could be developed from among these nine sites.

TABLE A-1. ORGANIZATIONAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAN BERNARDINO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT.

City Population	106,500	District also includes part of unincorporated area in surrounding county
K-12 Student Enrollment	28,971	Among 15 largest districts in Calif.
Ethnicity of Student Body	2.7%	American Indian
	2.6%	Asian
	16.1%	Black
	27.4%	Mexican American
	51.2%	Anglo
Per Pupil Expenditures	$1,944.68	Based on average daily attendance
Revenue Sources	9.58%	Federal
	73.08%	State (typical of
	17.34%	Local post-Prop. 13 Calif. Dsts.)
Certificated Employees	113 (8.0%)	Administrators
	104 (7.4%)	Pupil services
	1,412 (85.6%)	Cert. teachers
Employee Ethnicity	0.8%	American Indian
	1.1%	Asian American
	10.0%	Black
	11.6%	Mexican American
	76.5%	Anglo
Third Grade California Assessment Program Scores for 1979-80 (State Mean Score = 250 on Each Test)	240	Reading
	238	Written Expression
	246	Math

2. School Site Selection.

Interviews and initial observations were conducted at each of the nine volunteer school sites. Interviews with the principals concentrated on ascertaining the nature of the training, experience, and demographic characteristics of the principal, the teaching staff, and the student population at each school. The research team was also interested in ascertaining whether the volunteering principals were likely to be open and cooperative in their responses to research questions.

The nine schools covered through this process were found to have an adequate mix of "inner city" and "suburban" schools, as well as a good range of staff and student body size. There were, however, no Black principals and no predominately Black schools in this initial group. Therefore, the research team sought cooperation from the district assistant superintendent with most direct responsibility for elementary school programs in identifying school sites with these characteristics and eliciting the cooperation of their principals. This process produced two additional schools. Both had predominately Black student populations, one had a Black and one an Anglo principal.

It was decided to include both of these new schools in the final sample, along with three of the original nine. The resultant five sample schools are described in Table A-2.

3. Teacher Selection.

As the five school sites were being identified, principals were asked to nominate three teachers to become the primary subjects in the study. They were asked to select one teacher whom they viewed as "strong", one whom they viewed as relatively "weak", and one which would provide the research project with a suitable balance of training, experience, and other personal characteristics. Each of these principal nominees was contacted and invited to participate in the study.

Two nominees declined to participate. The first was a teacher identified as an experienced, union activist teacher in Mr. Q's school. This teacher not only declined to participate herself, she also tried to persuade Mr. Q's other two nominees to refuse to participate. Her motivation sprang largely from her teacher union leadership role. The district was in the midst of tense teacher contract negotiations and this teacher felt obliged to declare her unwillingness to be cooperative with management sponsored activities of all sorts. She expected her refusal to participate in the research to be taken as a sign that teachers were unhappy about the status of contract negotiations.

This teacher was unsuccessful in persuading Mr. Q's other nominees to decline, and was eventually replaced by Mrs. C, a resource specialist teacher in Mr. Q's building. She remained friendly to our field observers throughout the study, and made no effort to interfere with the research project beyond the initial approach to the other nominees.

TABLE A-2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIVE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SELECTED FOR STUDY.

	SCHOOL				
CHARACTERISTIC	P	Q	R	Q	T
Overall Character	Inner City Black Poor	Inner City Multi Lower Mid.	Inner City Hisp. Poor	Inner City Black Lower Mid.	Suburban Anglo Mid. Class
No. of Students	239	550	330	245	450
No. Reg. Teachers	8	21	10	8	14
Full Time Specialist Teachers	2	4	1	1	5
No. Tchr. Aides	9	22	10	9	5
Ethnic Balance	73% Black	70% Anglo	40% Hisp. 25% Black	69% Black	74% Anglo
SPECIAL PROGRAMS:					
Title I, ESEA	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Spec. Ed. Classes	0	2	0	0	6
Deseg./Integration	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
ESAA Magnet School	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Extended Day Care	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
School Improvement	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Bi-lingual, Ttl VII	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
PRINCIPAL PROFILE					
Yrs. experience	5	14	9	2	2
Sex	Fem.	Male	Male	Fem.	Fem.
Ethnicity	Anglo	Anglo	Hisp.	Black	Anglo
Special Responsibilities:	1/2 Time Dst. Off.		Has 2 Schls.	Deseg. Team Ldr.	

The other nominated teacher who declined our invitation to participate in the study was a Black male teacher identified by his principal as a "weak" teacher. He initially agreed to participate in the study, but withdrew following a preliminary interview. His refusal to participate appeared to be motivated by his anxiety that our observer would provide evaluation data to the principal and thus would contribute to a potentially negative evaluation. He was replaced by a stronger first grade teacher from the same building.

The teachers who were finally selected are described in Table A-3.

4. Selection of Other Participants.

During the same period that principals and teachers were being identified and selected, central office administrators and consultants with a significant working relationship to the five schools in the sample were identified. In addition to the superintendent, nine central office administrators were identified for observation and interview.

Four of the nine were senior district administrators -- the three assistant superintendents and the associate superintendent. Each elementary principal is assigned to one of these four senior administrators for supervision and evaluation. One factor in picking the principals for the sample was to have at least one who reported to each of the four supervisors. The Assistant Superintendent for Management supervised two of our sample principals.

Five district level coordinators and directors were also identified as having significant working relationships with the five sample schools. They included: 1) a bi-lingual program coordinator, 2) the director of the district's $600 thousand ESAA desegregation and integration project, 3) a curriculum coordinator, 4) a Title I (now Chapter I) coordinator, and 5) a special education coordinator. The cooperation of each of these central office staffers was sought and received.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data collection efforts were focused primarily on the fifteen teachers and their five principals. Less extensive data were collected from the other administrators. Multiple interviews and repeated observations were the primary mechanisms of data collection. Some document collection and analysis was also undertaken.

1. Teacher Data.

After initial contact, the teachers were given a preliminary interview based on the schedule presented in Table A-4. In addition to gathering data about each teacher's background and work orientations, these initial interviews concentrated on establishing a cooperative, non-threatening, relationship which would facilitate observation of teaching and non-teaching activities.

TABLE A-3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIFTEEN ELEMENTARY TEACHERS SELECTED FOR STUDY.

TEACHER	SEX	ETHNIC IDENT.	YRS. EXP.	TCHNG. ASSIGN.	SCH. TYPE
Mrs. A	F	Anglo	10+	4-5/VP	Black
Mrs. B	F	Anglo	9	5-6/VP	Black
Mrs. C	F	Anglo	10	Resrce.	Urban
Mr. D	M	Hisp.	8	2nd	Hisp.
Mr. E	M	Anglo	2	4-5	Black
Ms. F	F	Anglo	1	Spc.Ed.	Sub.
Mrs. G	F	Anglo	20	Kgtn.	Black
Mrs. H	F	Anglo	26	1st	Black
Mrs. I	F	Asian	6	5th	Urban
Mrs. J	F	Hisp.	1	1st	Hisp.
Mr. K	M	Black	20	6th	Sub.
Mrs. L	F	Anglo	20+	2-3	Hisp.
Mrs. M	F	Anglo	0	L.H.	Sub.
Mrs. N	F	Anglo	20	2-3	Urban
Mrs. O	F	Black	20	2-3	Black

TABLE A-4. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED FOR INITIAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE FIFTEEN TEACHERS IN THE STUDY.

1. Tell me about your teaching experience.

2. What do you think about teaching?

3. What kind of class do you have this year?

4. What to you think about these students?

5. What is the most satisfying thing about teaching?

6. What is the thing you dread most?

7. Compare last year with this year.

8. Tell me about your relationships with other teachers.

Following extensive observation of their teaching and non-teaching work activities, each teacher was asked to participate in a final interview lasting one to two hours based on the interview schedule presented in Table A-5. Due to a series of illnesses and other complicating factors, one of the 15 teachers, Mrs. N, did no respond to this final interview schedule.

Between the initial and final interviews the teachers were subjected to observations which varied in length and covered a wide variety of non-teaching activities as well as the full range of classroom teaching behavior. As outlined on Table A-6, the number of observation periods ranged from as few as three in the case of Mrs. C to as many as 17 for Mrs. A and Mrs. O. Total observation time ranged from 10 1/2 hours for Mr. K to 28 1/2 hours for Mrs. B, with the average being 16.8.

Observation of classroom instruction for teachers ranged from a low of 6 hours for Mrs. C to a high of 10 hours for Mrs. B and Mrs. O, with an average of 7.9.

Non-classroom observations included teacher meetings, small staff group or committee meetings, playground and hall duty observations, social parties, a parent volunteer training session, meetings with principals, teacher lounge behavior, and in-service training sessions concerning: bi-lingual programs, curriculum development, special education, and presentations of various classroom techniques.

Documents collected included lesson plans, seating charts, memoranda, and a few samples of instructional materials used by the teachers.

2. Data Collection from Principals.

As indicated in Table A-7, the five principals in our study were observed on from 8 to 16 different occasions. Total observation time ranged between 12 and 20 hours.

Each principal was interviewed from three to five times beyond the initial sample selection interview. The questions used to focus these interviews are shown in Table A-8. The interviews were, however, relatively unstructured. Each principal was observed on at least one occasion for a full working day (from the time of their arrival at school until they left for the day).

3. Data Collection from Other Participants.

Table A-9 describes the observation and interview data collected from other members of the school district staff.

The interview schedule used in preliminary conversations with these other administrators is presented in Table A-10.

TABLE A-5. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED FOR FINAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE FIFTEEN TEACHERS.

1. Follow-up questions regarding curricular content, classroom procedures, and student characteristics:

A. What is the most important consideration in what you teach? Or what does teaching cover as far as you're concerned? Or, as far as your particular classroom is concerned?

B. What do you think about when you're deciding what to teach? How do you make curricular decisions? Are there some steps you take? A procedure? A way?

C. What is the most important thing you teach? Why? Review the schedule, if necessary, to probe.

D. What does the aide do to help you? (If appropriate). Or, how does the aide help you?

E. How did you arrive at this particular way of doing things in your classroom?

F. Probe to determine the process by which this teacher mastered (or not) the daily requirement of the work.

G. For example, how do you and your aide plan? How do you let your students know what to do? How far in advance do you plan for each class? How well do you feel you can determine how much can be done in a class period? How well do you feel you have learned how much work your students can do in a given period of time?

2. Interaction with principal:

A. How often do you speak with your principal? (probe to determine types of interaction).

3. Interaction with supervisors and other administrators (as appropriate):

A. Tell me something about your relationships with. . .(name each one and probe relationships).

4. What sorts of information do you get from the central office?

5. What activities do you participate in?

6. Other questions regarding the work or attitudes which may be unique to this particular teacher.

7. If the above questions do not elicit enough information about what teachers consider rewarding, ask, What do you think the district could provide for you which would serve to convince you that they know how well you are doing your job?

TABLE A-6. OBSERVATION FREQUENCY AND DURATION FOR THE FIFTEEN TEACHERS IN THE SAMPLE.

TEACHER	TTL. NO. OBS. PDS.	NON-TCHG ACT'S.	TTL. OBS. HOURS	NO. HRS. TCHNG	NO. INTVWS.
Mrs. A	17	7	22	7	2
Mrs. B	13	8	28.5	10	2
Mrs. C	3	2	11.5	6	2
Mr. D	11	3	19	9.5	2
Mr. E	10	2	15	7	2
Ms. F	4	3	14	7.5	2
Mrs. G	12	3	15	7	2
Mrs. H	12	4	15.5	6.5	2
Mrs. I	8	2	15.5	8.5	2
Mrs. J	13	8	18.5	8.5	2
Mr. K	4	2	10.5	7.5	2
Mrs. L	10	2	17	9	2
Mrs. M	4	3	14	7.5	2
Mrs. N	7	2	14	8.5	1
Mrs. O	13	2	22	8.5	2

TABLE A-7. OBSERVATION FREQUENCY AND DURATION FOR THE FIVE PRINCIPALS IN THE STUDY.

PRINCIPAL	NUMBER OF OCCASIONS	CUMULATIVE NO. OF HRS.	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
Mrs. P	14	16	4
Mr. Q	16	20	4
Mr. R	10	18	5
Mrs. S	10	17	3
Mrs. T	8	12	3

TABLE A-8. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED WITH THE FIVE PRINCIPALS IN THE STUDY.

1. Regarding Community and Student Population

A. What kind of neighborhood does this school serve?
B. What is the student population like? (Total number, no. of classes at each grade level, average classs size, SES, Achievement compared to state and district norms, ethnicity, etc.)
C. Are there students coming into the school from outside its attendance boundaries? Are any leaving?
D. Have there been changes in the student population?

2. Regarding Organization of the School

A. Are there other site administrators? (Who evaluates each administrator, ask about relationships with principal)
B. Who from the central office has contact with this school? (probe for frequency and nature of contact and ask about relationships with principal and other site administrators)

3. Regarding the Faculty

A. How many faculty, by grade and program? Changes in recent years?
B. What is the nature of your interactions with teachers? (probe for frequency and tone)

4. Regarding Specialist Teachers

A. How many specialists are at this school? How many are remedial or resource teachers, enrichment (e.g. art, music, etc.), clinical specialists, etc. Who do these specialists report to? What is your relationship with each? (probe for tone and extent of contact)
B. How do students receive these specialist services? Pull-out programs, push-in programs, self-contained classes, etc. (probe for frequency, number, and types of services)
C. Tell me about the relationships between the regular and specialist teachers.

5. Regarding Teaching Aides

A. What types of aides are there? How many of each? Are they full- or part-time? To whom do they report for supervision and evaluation?
B. How many teachers have aides? If not all, how are they assigned? Do individual aides work with more than one teacher?
C. How do the teachers feel about the aides in this school?
D. How closely do you work with the various aides? (probe for extent and tone of contact)

TABLE A-9. OBSERVATION FREQUENCY AND DURATION FOR OTHER ADMINISTRATORS IN THE STUDY.

ADMINISTRATOR	NUMBER OF OCCASIONS	CUMULATIVE NO. OF HRS.	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
Supt.	6	4	3
Assoc. Sup.	4	3	1
Asst. Sup.	8	6	4
Asst. Sup.	2	3	1
Asst. Sup.	3	2	1
Director	8	6	2
Coord.	8	10	2
Coord.	8	10	3
Coord.	2	2	1
Coord.	2	2	2
Various Other Prins.	18	12	5
Various Other Tchrs.	15	30	15

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

Procedurally, data analysis for this project was typical of ethnographic field studies. Data analysis was begun as soon as initial contacts and interviews were held with participants in the study and the resulting field notes could be typed. Analysis and data collection were pursued iteratively, with each round of analysis re-directing further observations and re-focusing interview questions.

Substantively, data analysis also followed typical ethnographic procedures. Pivotal analytical categories were developed by searching the data for critical and/or typical events within the work behaviors and interview responses of each participant. Events and interview interpretations of these events were recognized as significant when they met any of three basic criteria: 1) they provided a basis for interpreting the full range of a respondent's behavior, 2) they interpreted similarities (and differences) in orientation and/or behavior among the participants, or 3) they illuminated the relationship between the behavior of our subjects and the central concepts found in the literature on work motivation, rewards, and incentives.

Conceptualization and interpretation of the data found in the observations, interviews and documents collected from each teacher and administrator were tested against those provided by other participants in the study. This cross-referencing of analytic concepts and conclusions served to verify the validity and generalizability of the theoretical framework used to explain the nature of both teacher and administrator work motivations and orientations and to analyze the rewards and incentives which serve to guide their work efforts.